1 of 6 Branch. File No. 3/14

CORRESPONDENCE. 19 .

Subject.

Correspondence with Members of the Central Legislature Assembly

(& later, Constituent Assembly of India)

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to

Septr. 48

S. 162 (Pink).
MGIPC—S1—2590 (S&P) MFP—(M.1754)—6-9-33—20,000.

1 Aurangazeb Road,
New Delhi, 14th Septr 1948.

My dear Ranga,

Thank you for your letter of the 10th September 1948.

Your letter shows, if I may say so, some confusion of thought. If we say that we must have the best men for the High Court, it is obvious that we cannot insist on nomination from particular groups. What one has to ensure is that the best candidate available from amongst the various groups is recommended irrespective of the group to which he belongs. In other words, there can be no vacancy reserved for a particular group.

I notice that, to the groups I.C.S. and non-I.C.S. District Judges and the Bar, you have added representation according to geographical area, and that too, a section of a linguistic area. I am sure you will realise that in this way the position becomes impossible.

It is obvious that in determining whether the best possible candidate has been nominated, we have to rely on the judgment of the Chief Justice, the Provincial Premier and the Governor. If we get unanimous recommendations from these three authorities, unless a recommendation is manifestly improper, it is impossible for us to set it aside.

In considering the appointments made to the High Court, you must bear in mind the points which I have mentioned above, and then appreciate the difficulties of the Central Government.

Yours sincerely,

Prof. N.G.Ranga,M.C.A.,
NIDUBROLU P.O.

V.

Prof. N. G. Ranga
Member, Constituent Assembly of India.

NIDUBROLU P.O.
D 10-9-48

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To

The Hon. Sardar Vallabhai Patelji,
Deputy Premier,
Government of India,
New Delhi.

My dear Sardarji,

I hope you will excuse me for writing this letter to you, as my object in writing this is to bring to your notice a glaring injustice which is being done in the recruitment of Judges to the Madras High Court. In your telegraphic reply to Sri M.Ananthasayanam Iyengar, you declared it to be the policy of the Government to recruit Judges to High Courts, from the Bar, from the I.C.S. group of District Judges, and from the Non-I.C.S. group of District Judges including directly recruited District Judges, treating them as separate and distinct sources for recruitment. This was also the policy adopted even

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by the British Government for reasons of effi-
-ciency and with a view to avoid lopsidedness in the High Court and in order to secure the best element found in all these groups with their different and varied experiences. This policy as declared by you met with the approval of all people as it gives representation to all cate-
-gories of people connected with Law. I may be permitted to remind you that on a representation by me and Sri.M.A.Iyengar you were kind enough to instruct your Secretariat to call for names on that basis. But I am sorry to state that the instructions do not seem to have been carried out uptil now. On the other hand the Madras Govern-
ment seemed to have ignored the policy as declared by you. Ignoring this policy means ignoring the claims of efficient and senior District Judges in the non-I.C.S. group including directly recrui-
ted District Judges, who have served for a long time with a brilliant record. It is my view and the view of Sri. M.A. Iyengar, and I know it is al

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also your view in declaring the policy as stated above, that local exigencies and considerations should not be allowed to interfere in the matter of recruitment of Judges to High Courts. No Judge should be given room to feel that he is under an obligation to any individual or party for his appointment as a Judge. All the recent appointments to the Madras High Court are either from the I.C.S. group of District Judges or from the Bar, and none from the non-I.C.S. group of District Judges. This is against your policy. The Madras Government has not, uptil now sent up any names from the nonI.C.S. group of District Judges including the directly recruited District Judges. I am bringing this to your notice so that your policy may be strictly enforced by calling for names at least this time from non-I.C.S. group of Dist. Judges including directly recruited Dist. Judges for recruitment to the High Court.

I know it is cruel on my part to encroach

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on your precious time, in these days of stress and strain on you. May I request you to kindly spare a bit of your personal attention to set right this injustice to the non-I.C.S. group of District Judges by insisting on best qualified names from that group also?

Thanking you,

Yours affly
N. G. Ranga

I have come to know, after reaching Madras that there are some more vacancies in the High Court and that the Bar has again a chance. Till now not even one has been appointed from the underdeveloped and much neglected area of Rayalaseema - the Western third of the Andhra. May I request you to see that atleast one is selected from among the lawyers born in and hailing from Rayalaseema.

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New Delhi,
8th September 1948.

My dear Balkrishna Sharma,

Thank you for your letter of the 7th September 1948. We are fully ceized of the case and have asked the Madhya Bharat Union for a report. As soon as their report is received, I shall look into it.

Yours sincerely,

Shri Balkrishna Sharma,
5, Windsor Place,
New Delhi.

M.

5 Windsor Place
New Delhi
Sept. 7, 1948

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My dear revered Sardar Saheb,

With respectful Pranams,

I am sending herewith certain papers relating to the affairs of Jhaknawada (Mp 30 1941), a Jagir in Jhabua State. The rebel Narwar Singh had taken forcible possession of the Garhi (fortress) of Jhaknawada. The Union Government, that is you, were pleased to order eviction of the rebel trespasser. But the way the Government of the Madhya Bharat Union proceeded in the matter has not redounded to its & the Government of India's credit.

While your Army was making preparation to attack the Garhi, the Dy. Prime Minister of the Madhya Bharat Raj entered into negotiations with the rebel, thereby giving him undue importance and quite undeserved prestige. I am told that the conditions entered into with the rebel Thakur by the Dy. Prime Minister Shri Shinde smack of abject surrender to the Thakur on our part. While in possession of the Garhi, this Narwar Singh committed many criminal acts of which reports have been made to the Madhya Bharat Union by the Police. And the astonishing part of it all is that the criminal is roaming about scot free in Indore & Jhaknawada and has become a menace to the widowed Thakurains and their minor adopted son.

May I request you to be pleased to look into the matter and ask the Madhya Bharat Govt. to take strong action against Narwar Singh?

Respectfully yours
Balkrishna

To,

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel,
Deputy Prime Minister & Minister in-charge States,
Government of India,
NEW DELHI.

Representation on behalf of the Thakuranis - widows of the late Thakur Narayan Singh of Jhaknawada, Jhabua, (Madhya Bharat).

Sir,

In persuance of the orders of the States Ministery Narwarsingh, the rebel, who had forcibily occupied the Gadhi of Jhaknaoda Thikana in Jhabua along with a gang of about 800 armed men, has been made to vacate the Gadhi by the Madhya Bharat Union. This rebel, during the period he had been in fordible possession of the Thikana, had committed all sorts of atrocities including murders and had also looted and removed our valuables and arms etc. from the Gadhi. The previous history of this rebel would convince you how dangerous and desperate a man he is.

The Madhya Bharat Union, for reasons best known to them, have left this man free and to our utter surprise we learn have entered into a compromise with him. As a result the rebel has been left free and is roaming in the Jhaknawada territory and Indore. Apart from the fact that he is guilty of waging war against the union, of murders and looting of our property the remaining free of such a man is not only dangerous and hazardous to the society but is highly unsafe for us and our minor son. Our life is in danger and we would therefore request you to direct the Madhya Bharat Union to put Narwarsingh the rebel behind the prison bars and to try him according to law for the henious offences committed by him. Herewith we are attaching a copy of our representation to the Premier and other authorities of Madhya Bharat Union.

We beg to remain, -
Sir,
your most obedient servants,

Thakurani's Dodhni Ji and Solankini Ji
Widows of the late Thakur Narayan Singh of
Jhaknawada Jagir of Jhabua.

Through

(J.L.Pande).
ADVOCATE

5, Windsor Place,
New Delhi.

Sir,

The petitioner Dodniji widowed Thakurani of Thakur Narain Singh of Jhaknawada most respectfully submits as under:-

2. That the father of my late husband was murdered by the eldest brother of Narwarsingh, named Mansingh, the trespasser of Jhaknawada Gadhi in 1919 when my late husband was a mere boy. The said Mansingh was haged by the neck. Since then Narwarsingh and his late brother Bahadursingh became dreadful enemies of my husband, whose life was in constant danger and he had to be safe-guarded. Narwarsingh and his brother Bahadursingh became worst type of criminals and they were driven out of the limits of the Jhaknawada territory in 1928 under the orders of the then Political Agent in Malwa. These files in Jhabua State records would clearly prove their criminal character. However, my late husband passed his life in great danger which made him a victim of heart disease. He was so much disgusted by threats and criminal activities of Narwarsingh that at last he asked us (his wives) to take Rajkumar Gajendrapalsingh second son of His Highness Raja Dileepsingh of Jhabua in adoption. In accordance with the definite wishes of our deceased husband we took in adoption the said Rajkumar as our son and heir to the late Thakur Narain Singh of Jhaknawada. This adoption was accomplished according to Hindu Law and rites during the British regime and the appeals and representations of Narwarsingh and others have been finally decided and their claims rejected by the then competent Political authorities. This was as far back as in the year 1946.

3. That in January 1948 Narwarsingh illegally captured the Gadhi of Jhaknawada. It is learned reliably that the Thikana Treasury and our private appartments have been broken into and contents like cash, jewellery, ornaments and other articles valued at thousands of rupees removed by him. Lists of articles kept in the Gadhi have already been submitted by the Court of Wards Jhabua State, since the Thikana is managed by the Court of Wards as the Thakur Sahib is minor. During this usurpation of the Gadhi, Narwarsingh is said to have committed several henious offences. It is learned that the States Ministry has been graciously pleased to order his immediate eviction, forcibily, if necessary, from the Gadhi and his prosecution for the offences committed by him. Since the, the present Madhya Bharat Government has also been graciously pleased to order the eviction of Narwarsingh from the Gadhi. He has removed about 25 cart-loads of our property from the Gadhi. As in the past, he will again be a danger to the life of our son, minor Thakur Gajendrapalsingh of Jhaknawada at present reading in Daly College, to that of my daughter and ourselves.

4. It is, therefore, prayed that necessary police arrangements be made for the protection of our lives. The Thikana being under Court of Wards, the Government, as our guardian, is, it is respectfully submitted, responsible for the protection of our lives and estate.

5. It is further prayed:
   (a) That our property be restored and taken in the possession of the Madhya Bharat Government as our guardian;
   (b) Narwarsingh be handed over to the police for taking action against him for all the several henious offences committed by him.

I beg to remain,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,

11th.August, 1948.

Thakurani Dodniji widow of the late
Thakur Narain Singh of Jhaknawada,
C/o. Thakur Biyajsingji,
Parsi Mohalla, INDORE.

Sir,

The petitioner Dodniji widowed Thakurani of Thakur Narain Singh of Jhaknawada most respectfully submits as under:-

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Sir,
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11th.August, 1948.

Thakurani Dodniji widow of the late
Thakur Narain Singh of Jhaknawada,
C/o. Thakur Biyajsingji,
Parsi Mohalla, INDORE.

A BRIEF NOTE ON THE LIFE OF REBEL NAWARSINGH AND HIS CRIMINAL ACTIVITIES.

For a correct appreciation of Narwarsingh rebel's life sketch it is absolutely necessary to look to the history of his family in order to form an idea of the environments in which he had been brought up as well as the tendencies which he inherited. It is therefore given below in short:

Thakur Kishore Singh of Thikana Jhaknawada, had three wives namely (1) Thakurani Ranawatji (2) Thakurani Chawadiji and (3) Thakurani Tawarniji. The eldest died issueless while the second had a son Ranjitsingh who being the eldest was the heir apparent of the Thikana. Tawarniji Thakurani had three sons namely (1) Mansingh (2) Bahadursingh and (3) Narwarsingh, the rebel with whom we are concerned. As is not natural the old Thakur Kishoresingh had a great love for his youngest wife, the mother of Narwarsingh, but he could not succeed in dis-inheriting his eldest son Thakur Ranjitsingh. He however managed to give two jagirs out of the Thikana, respectively to Mansingh and Bahadursingh. Mansingh got Bolasa and Bahadursingh was given Tarkhedi. This happened in 1907. Tawarniji the mother of Narwarsingh was reputed to be a desperate scheming and cruel lady, and Narwarsingh appears to have inherited these qualities from his mother. On the death of Thakur Kishoresingh in 1914, * Thakur Ranjitsingh the eldest son succeeded to the Thikana with the help and intervention of the Jhabua Durbar and th political department. A suitable allowance to the members of the Tawaraniji's family had to be granted.

*and he managed to get the Jagirs reverted to the Thikana with

After the accession of Thakur Ranjitsingh to Jhaknawda, Tawarniji with her sons and their wives had to leave Jhaknawada and went to reside in Bolasa and occupied the Garhi there. On account of their misdeeds, Mansingh and his family was ordered by the Jhabua Durbar about the year 1916 to leave Bolasa and to live in Jhabua, but they would not listen to it.

A graphic discription of the character of the two brothers Mansingh and Bahadursingh is given by Rao Bahadur Mulye in his letter No:84-C dated the 22nd.November 1917 to the Political Agent. It is as follows:-

"Both Mansingh and Bahadursingh are truculant young men with very little education, and having never been subjected to any discipline of any kind are likely to prove thorns in the side of Ranjitsingh and perhaps the State. I apprehend they are likely to give troubles in future as they are just the material out of which dacoits are made." About Narwarsingh who was then about 12 years of age, Mr. Mulye in the same letter wrote as under:-

"The youngest brother Narwarsingh, is an intelligent boy but he is being spoiled by the over-indulgence of his mother and if he is allowed to associate himself with his elder brothers, I am afraid he will be as hopeless as they are."

Little did Mr.Mulye knew then that he was making a prediction which proved out to be literally true about Narwarsingh.

Mansingh and his brothers on one side and Thakur Ranjitsingh on the other always quarrelled over the maintenance allowances that were given to them. They became so threateningly serious that the Jhabua Durbar had to intervene and get an agreement executed between the parties on 31st.December 1917. The relevant terms of the agreemwnt

agreement were:-
(1) That the members of the Tawaraniji's family will no longer stay in Jhaknawada limits but in Jhabua;
(2) Jhaknawada Thakurait will pay Rs:200/- p.m. for maintenance of the family at Jhabua;
(3) This family will have no concern with house or cultivators etc. at Bolasa.

This agreement of 1917 was never acted upon by Tawaraniji and her sons, for Mansingh threatened to kill Thakur Ranjitsingh and actually shot him dead on 11th.February 1919. It was a cold blooded murder and Mansingh got the gallows for it on 27th.October 1919.

On the death of Thakur Ranjitsingh in 1919 his 11 years old son Thakur Narayansingh succeeded him. It was but natural for the two remaining brothers of Mansingh to feed fat their grudge against the unfortunate minor son of late Thakur Ranjitsingh. It was in the year 1923 that we find Narwarsingh who was hardly 19 years of age challenged for henious offences like robbery under Section 392 I.P.C. attended with criminal assaults and grievious hurts as well as for house-breaking and criminal tresspass on excise shops. The police found it difficult to arrest the man as he could always avoid arrest by escaping to Datigaon, a village in the adjoining Gwalior State territory, where his sister's daughter was married. The criminal activities of Natwarsingh and his brother became so aggressive and intolerable that Jhabua Durbar through their orders Nos:5472 and 806 dated the 24th.September 1925 and the 5th.July 1926 respectively proclaimed them as absconders and ordered their immediate arrest. Their devastations were not confined to Jhaknawada Thikana but they spread all over the State territories. The Thakur of Umerkot in 1927 complained to the Darbar about the offences committed by them in his Thikana. In 1928 Narwarsingh and his brother threatened to kill Thakur Narayansingh as is evident from the complaint which the latter lodged with the Darbar on 31st.October 1928. On December 4, 1928, the then Dewan of Jhabua had to report to the Political Agent requesting him to grant permission to arrest Narwarsingh and his brother with the help of an armed force to compel them to leave Bolasa Garhi on the point of bayonet. But when persuasions and other methods failed, the Political Agent on 1st.January 1929 passed the following orders:-
(1) The police will cordon the fortified house and if the party did not surrender, it should be treated as a gang of dacoits.
(2) Thakur Jamli as a magistrate should help the police in effecting a surrender of all persons including women;
(3) If the demand for surrender is refused the magistrate will send a notice that the police will take action and open fire on the house in a short and certified time e.g. 10 minutes;
(4) If the party surrenders, it, including women, should all be locked up in Jhabua and legal action be taken against them.

In compliance with the order, the possession of Bolasa Garhi was taken with the aid of a strong police force on 5th.January 1929. The two brothers namely, Bahadursingh and Narwarsingh absconded while their wives and children surrendered and were escorted under a police guard to Jhabua. In further compliance of the Political Agent's order, the absconding brothers were proclaimed as dacoits, and their immediate arrest ordered through a proclamation of Jhabua Darbar Order No:2510 dated the 13th.January 1929. Inspite of this proclamation the activities of these two dacoits namely, Narwarsingh and Bahadursingh continued with the result that the Political Agent through his order

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order No:1802 dated the 12th.March 1929 externed them from the Jhabua State and ordered them and their family out of Jhabua State. On 10th.June 1929 Bahadursingh came to Jhabua but was sent back under police escort outside Jhabua upto Ratlam with the ladies and children. The family lived in Dewas State till Bahadursingh's death in 1934. During this period of externment from 1929 to 1934 Narwarsingh and his brother having no ostensible means of livelihood became confirmed dacoits committing offences on the borders of Jhabua and other States.

After the removal of Bahadursingh from the scene the burden to support the family fell on Narwarsingh and he appears to have changed his tactics. He began to approach the Political Department and Jhabua Durbar with solicitations to intervene and revive his maintenance allowance which stood stopped since 1919 when Mansingh had murdered Ranjitsingh. In view of the miserable plight of the widows of Mansingh and Bahadursingh and their children, the Political Department took pity and moved the President of the Council of Administration, Jhabua, to persuade the Thakur of Jhaknawada to revive he maintenance allowance provided of course on Narwarsingh's tendering an unqualified apology for his past misbehaviour and giving an undertaking to be of good behaviour in future. The following is the gist of the letter of the Political Agent dated October 22nd.1934:-

(1) In view of the past history of the case and the bad conduct of Bahadursingh and Narwarsingh the petitioner (Narwarsingh) seems to have forfeited all rights to benefit under the settlement of 1917;
(2) But in view of the plight of the family and looking to the conditions of the widows and the children, Thakur Jhaknawada should be persuaded to make some reasonable provision for the maintenance of these indigent persons;
(3) Any provision for Narwarsingh should be made only after obtaining from him an apology for his past misconduct and written assurances of future good behaviour;

On Narwarsingh's tendering his written apology to the President of the Council of Administration dated 20th. January 1935 and promissing to be of good behaviour in future, Thakur Naryansingh of Jhaknawada could be persuaded to agree to the grant of an allowance of Rs:1880/-per year to Narwarsingh and other members of Tawaraniji's family. This agreement of 1935, if properly availed, could have improved the position of Narwarsingh and his family but as the subsequent events show Narwarsingh, it appears, had become a hardened criminal beyond redemption.

By the end of the year 1935, inspite of the agreement we find Narwarsingh involved in a murder case. He was prosecuted for the murder of one Lachman barber of Jhabua with whose wife it was alleged he had criminal intimacy. He had to remain in jail for about six months as anunder-trial when ultimately he was acquitted getting the benefit of doubt. Hardly had he remained free for a few months, when he was again wanted in another equally henious offence of kid-napping a young girl Mst.Dadi under section 366A.I.P.C. He avoided arrest and absconded.

It appears that his criminal habits again had the upper hand and we find him again as a desperate criminal wretch. He was demanded and extradited for an offence under section 392 (Robbery) by Dhar State for having forcibly robbed a magistrate of Dhar of his horse.

Out of a long list of henious offences which he committed during this period (1935-1944) as an absconder from

from Jhabua and Dhar States only the above mentioned ones are sufficient to depict him in his true colours. Over and above this, Narwarsingh is a drunkard and a debauch, and is also suffering from leprosy. His criminal activities during these years extended over to Bhopal, Sihore and Gwalior States. He was also wanted in several Civil Court warrants which he equally successfully evaded.

Fortunately for him, Thakur Narayansingh of Jhaknawada died of heart failure on 12th. November 1945 and Narwarsingh entered the Gadhi. The widowed Thakuranis of Narayan Singh being naturally terrified by the presence of a man who had been a life long enemy of the late Thakur requested the Durbar to help them to evict him. On 21st. November 1945 Narwarsingh was evicted by the Jhaknawada police from the Gadhi under orders from higher authorities.

In 1946 the widowed Thakuranis, in persuance to the wishes and the authority given by their deceased husband adopted Thakur Gajendrapalsingh, in conformity with religious ceremonies & joined by Hindu law and usage and minor Thakur Gajendrapalsingh was declared and recognised by the Jhabua Durbar as the Thakur of Jhaknawada Thikana.

Narwarsingh moved the Political Agent and his application was finally rejected by the Political Agent on 15th. October 1946. Thus the adoption of Gajendrapalsingh having been recognised and declared by the Jhabua Durbar and the Political Department became a fact accomplished in the year 1946 and consequently all the legal remedies open to Narwarsingh became finally barred. As the adopted Thakur Gajendrapalsingh of Jhaknawada was a minor, the Thikana was placed under Court of Wards and managed as such. Narwarsingh, now, finding his legal remedies barred, naturally adopted bullying and terrifying tactics in Jhaknawada and its adjoining territories but Jhabua Durbar was strong enough to curb him and his activities. In utter dispair he had to leave the State and it appears he had been organising a gang to attack the Jhaknawada Thikana and to take its possession by force during the year 1947.

He was waiting and looking for an opportunity to take forcible possession of the Thikana which he got in the beginning of 1948. It was a period when Prajamandal agitation had started and was in full swing. The authority of the ruler had been undermined. Taking full advantage of the political situation all around he with a following of about 80 armed men from outside forcibly occupied the Gadhi on January 18th. 1948. Since then, begins a new chapter of loot, extortion and murder, a detail of which is given below:-

1. On 18th. January 1948, after the illegal occupation of the Gadhi, Narwarsingh broke open the Thikana Treasury and other boxes containing Thikana ornaments, valuables, cash, arms and ammunitions and removed them. He also took in his possession all the ornaments and utensils of the Thakuranis of Jhaknawada, which they had kept in their private apartments. The Treasury guard Kanchansingh was severely beaten and injured and wrongly confined.
2. He extorted land revenue, cesses, to the extent of more than Rs:30,000/- from the tenants.
3. On 22nd. January 1948 Narwarsingh arrested two constables namely Jhansingh and Amanullah. These two constables were arrested and kept in imprisonment upto the 12th. and 18th. of March respectively. They are also eye witnesses of some of the crimes committed by Narwarsingh with his accomplices. The statement of Amanullah Khan has been recorded by the first class magistrate of Jhabua under Section 164 Cr.P.C.

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4. On the 22nd.January Narwarsingh arrested t o more co nstables namely Nandlal and Suleman who were sent to him by the then popular ministers to deliver their letter to him. Suleman was murdered as stated by Yusuf Rangrez and Amanullah constable (Their statements have duly been recorded). Nandhal is untraceable since then and is presumed to have also been murdered. These cases have been registered and were being investigated by the Jhabua police.

5. On or about March 1, 1948, one Kanhaiyalal s/o Bheru sing was arrested from his village Kummakhedi and gagged and wrongfully confined. He was released only when he had been reduced to skeleton.

6. Customs Sayardar Girja Shanker was similarly treated and illegally confined for two months (The first information report of this has been duly lodged).

7. The mail runner Narv s/o Dharji Bhil of Thikana Umer kot was arrested and shoe-beaten on 8th.February 1948 while on duty. This case has also been registered.

8. Sardar Rai Singh the chief guard of the Jhaknawada Thikana was arrested and all his property including cattle was seized and auctioned by Narwarsingh. He was kept in wrongful confinement and was actually kept in Havalat with iron chains on his legs. His statement has also been recorded by a first class magistrate of Jhabua.

Madhosingh Sawar of Thikana Umerkot and customs Nakedar of village Ralyamen were similarly wrongfully confine and detained in jail for a long period. Their cases have also been registered.

9. The houses of the manager (Amin) of Thikana ~~Jhaknawada~~ Jhaknawada namely Thakur Duleysingh and his subordinate Mr.Khemchand motor driver were looted and property worth about Rs:10,000/- was removed. Their cases have also been duly registered. Similarly Forest Ranger Bakhtawarsingh and his uncle Sardar Lachhmansingh of Jhaknawada have been relieved of their property.

10. Narwarsingh made the sate liquor licensee of Jhaknawada to supply free wine to him. The poor man after some time ran away, and after that distillation of wine was freely resorted to in the Garhi.

11. On 22.5.48 Narwarsingh arrested Sobhagmal s/o Lunaji Modi of Jhaknawada on the alleged charge of his having committed rape on a Bhil girl and kept him in jail overnight. He was released on ransom of Rs:1,000/-. Relatives of Sobhagmal approached the Regional Commissioner at Indore. Similarly a ransom of Rs:150/- was realised from Nathcharan of Rupakhera. Most of these cases have been dul reported to the police.

12. Seven manis of grains were forcibly extorted from Kesarimal Vorah Mahajan of Jhaknawada.

13. On 2.6.48 Thakur Natthusingh of Semlia was wrongfully confined and severely beaten by Narwarsingh and his associates, namely Lala Parihar, Lachman Gujar and Mangaldas Baba. Narwarsingh also deprived the Thakur of a 12 bore D.B.gun.

Over and above this some people of Jhaknawada made several applications to the Administrator of Jhabua, the Regional Commissioner, Indore, and the Madhya Bharat Government regarding the atrocities of Narwarsingh and his associates against them and others during his stay in the Garhi. Luna Modi, Gamothji Jhaknawada, Sitaram Mistari, Rajmal Jain etc. are amongst some of his petitioners. These applications may be had from the authorities concerned.

Even the then popular Ministers namely Shri Kusum Kant Jain and Shri R.S.Sharma and the State Council at Jhabua unanimously had moved the higher authorities

16

authorities against the atrocities, high-handedness and criminal activites of Narwarsingh in February 1948.

These in short are the henious offences committed by Narwarsingh and his associates. All of these offences are cognizable and need investigation by the police. Apart from all this, the very act of his forcible occupation of the Gadhi with a gang of about 800 armed men after flouting and challanging the authority established by law amounts by itself to waging war against the State as defined under section 120-B of I.P.C. Bare justice, therefore, demands that rebel Narwarsingh should be prosecuted for these offences.

17

1 Aurangazeb Road,
New Delhi, 11.9.1948.

Dear Friend,

Thank you for your letter of the 9th September 1948 regarding the proposed Research & Reference Division.

The question of establishing such a division has been pending for a long time, mainly because of certain points of detail and of securing necessary financial sanction. The proposals are expected to be finalised shortly and then we shall look into the applications.

The enquiries which you have made of me so far should have now convinced you that at least things are not as bad as they are painted. °I should, therefore, suggest that if there are any important matters that come to your notice you may refer them to me; otherwise, I do not think you need bother.

Yours sincerely,

Sri. Lakshminarayan Sahu, M.C.A.,
26, Queensway,
New Delhi.

V.

26, Queensway,
New Delhi.
9.9.48

Dear Sardarji,

The Ministry of Information and Broadcasting advertised for applications for appointments in the proposed Research and Reference division. The last date for receiving applications was Feb. 9th. My information is that many people have applied but your Ministry has come to no definite conclusions in the matter. If you can kindly look into this matter & expedite selection of proper persons, it will be good for all concerned. The rejected people will be free to lay their claims elsewhere.

You have been very kind in answering my queries and I hope I shall continue to receive your helpful assistance in the future also.

Yours Sincerely,
Lakshminarayan Sahu
M.C.4.

To The Hon. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister
New Delhi.

19

13-E Ferozeshah Road,
New Delhi
7. 9. 48.

It was not moved.
Sd Oberoi
7/9

The Hon'ble the Home Minister,
Government of India,
New Delhi.

Sir,

I wish to move the following Adjournment Motion in the Parliament today. I hope you will grant me the necessary permission, and oblige.

"That this House do adjourn to discuss a matter of urgent public importance., viz. indiscriminate and unwarranted police firing on Thursday, September 2, 1948, on a unarmed and peaceful Port Trust watch and ward personnel in Calcutta, resulting in the wounding of about forty of them including serious injuries to many."

— Yours faithfully,

M. C. A.

13-E Ferozeshah Road,
New Delhi
7.9.48.

My dear Sardar Saheb,

Enclosed herewith please find the telegram I have received last night from Calcutta, at 9 p.m. This morning, I went to Mr. N. M. Joshi, and I learnt ~~from him~~ that the firing had taken place on 2.9.48 and about 40 workers had been wounded, some very seriously. The dispute was about the right of the watch and ward workers joining the Union of all the other port employees, and two workers were discharged for having joined the Union. The workers remonstrated to the officers against their discharge. The officers, instead of reasoning with them, threatened them with further discharges and disciplinary action, and wanted them to disperse. The workers persisted in demanding a satisfactory reply to their demand. The police resorted to firing with a view to dispersing them, in which about 40 men were wounded. Since then, the entire watch and ward staff in the Port Trust in Calcutta is on strike, and a general strike of all port and dock workers is threatened. The situation needs to be saved.

I am the President of the All-India Port and Dock Workers' Federation and this Union is affiliated to our Federation. The President of the Union, Mr. Nepal Bhattacharya, is a non-Communist independent, and last time when I visited Calcutta, a meeting of several thousand port trust employees was held under my presidentship. At that time, some stupid port trust officer had ordered them to work for 16 hours a day, and this had caused discontent. On my intervention, Mr. S. C. Joshi set the matter right. I presume it is this same set of officers who have bungled the situation. Formerly, there was was some Communist influence in the Union, who tried their utmost to see that the Union did not get itself affiliated with our Federation, but after my last visit, this Union was duly affiliated with our Federation and the Communists were overruled. But some of the officers seem determined to bungle the situation and they are defeating my efforts to avert a crisis.

I would desire a statement from you promising an impartial inquiry into the matter and then I will not press the motion.

With regards,

Sincerely yours,
Shibhanlal Saksena

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel,
Home Minister,
Govt. of India,
New Delhi.

C.-3.

21 1516

INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT.

No.

Received here at_____ h. _____ M.

O MB CALCUTTA 60

Shri Subhas Lal Sarkar, President [illegible]

INDISCRIMINATE POLICE FIRING ON DISARMED AND PEACEFUL PORT WATCH AND WARD PERSONNEL ON STRIKE JOINT SECRETARY OF ASSOCIATION ARRESTED ALL PORT EMPLOYEES AGITATED INTERVENE IMMEDIATE.

CALCUTTA PORT TRUST EMPLOYEES ASSOCIATION.

AS. 20/5

The appearance at entries at the beginning of this telegram is—class of telegram time handed in, serial number (in the case of foreign telegrams only), office of origin, date, service instructions (if any) and number of words.

This form must accompany any enquiry respecting this telegram.

MGIPP Ag

Council House,
New Delhi, 25th August 1948.

22

To

The Leader,
Congress Party, Constituent Assembly(Legislative)
Council House, New Delhi.

Dear Sir,

When I was in London, I had a brief discussion with the Parliament Secretary of the Labour Party regarding certain matters relating to parliamentary procedure and conventions. The following are three amongst other questions discussed during that talk and I am submitting the following few observations as they may be of interest in the working of our Party in the Legislature.

1. Regarding interpellations by back-benchers in the Official Party, I learnt that members who are not Ministers may put any interpellation whatever without restriction. It is considered that interpellations have to serve the purpose of putting the work of the administration under scrutiny and as such as the treasury benches always welcome critical questions from back-benchers.

2. Regarding resolutions, it is open to all members to table such resolutions as they like without formal permission from the Party but if it is considered desirable that a discussion of a particular resolution is not appropriate at the particular time, the Party considers the matter and if it so desires the resolution is withdrawn.

3. Regarding various Committees within the Party and in the Legislature, method, I learnt was as follows:--

(a) there are research groups within the Party itself which are allotted particular subjects; they work as component parts of the Party and concentrate their attention on the

study of important problems which might come before the Legislature.

(b) there are Standing Committees proportionately representative of all parties in the House to which some more members are added at the time of the consideration of a particular bill. The position of this third category of Committees is found largely useful in expediting the passage of legislative measures.

4. I made specific enquiries regarding the position of the Government Chief Whip as also Opposition Chief Whip. The Government Chief Whip by virtue of his office occupies the position of a Minister of State, -- a position which comes next to Cabinet rank. His emoluments are the same as those of a Minister of State and he occupies one of the front Treasury Benches. The Opposition Chief Whip also generally occupies a front bench in the Opposition group and is a position of importance. I should respectfully suggest that a similar position may as well be automatically accorded to the Government Chief Whip in our Legislature also.

Yours sincerely,

D. P. Karmarkar

Respectfully

Forwarded to Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Deputy Prime Minister of India, Council House, New Delhi.

D. P. Karmarkar

From:
Dr. Panjabrao Deshmukh,
M.A., D.Phil., Bar-at-Law,
Member, Constituent Assembly.

24

1, Constitution House,
New Delhi,
The 1st September, 1948.

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I hope you don't mind my addressing you in such quick succession. There are many occasions when I feel like conveying my thoughts to you but knowing the state of your health as well as the burden of responsibilities, you carry, I avoid writing as much as possible , and when I do write, I express myself with utmost brevity.

We were all very glad to listen to the reply which you gave in answer to the Resolution on non-mention of castes moved by Shri. Diwakar. By your reply you showed how you knew the pulse of the Indian masses. I have myself been surprised how widespread is the evil of small minority castes all over India monopolising places of honour and authority. If the Brahmins are on the top in Maharashtra, Marathi C.P., Bengal etc, it is the Kayasthas who monopolise all administrative advantages in U.P. Elsewhere it is the Rajput minority and so on. It is not correct to tell the unrepresented communities that they should not hanker after Government jobs. Fortunately or unfortunately, Government service has still considerable attraction which can be easily judged from the fact that no sin is considered too great for getting one's caste fellow or relation in some post or the other. Those who offer the advice are under no circumstances prepared to act up to it themselves For example, the Madrasi Brahmins are none too slow in complaining against discrimination against them in Madras. This is so because Government service not only has stability, regular and good salaries etc but it gives both power and authority.

We were therefore very happy that you did not permit yourself to be taken in by the tall talk of the abolition of caste by an edict of the Government of India and you agreed to appoint a Committee to examine the whole matter. I don't know how long it would take for the Committee to be brought into being but whether this is done immediately or not, it will help the "suppressed millions", if you could issue a Circular letter to all the Provincial Governments asking them for a caste-wise analysis of their gazetted

and non-gazetted posts carrying a salary of Rs 100/- and above per month. I have no doubt the actual figures would surprise you even yourself who, I know is fully aware of facts, facts which the more vocal section in the Constituent Assembly, as at present constituted, does not like to face. I had referred to the situation in C.P, in one of my speeches in the Assembly but I give below the exact answer given by Hon'ble Pandit Ravi Shankar Shukla, Premier, C.P. to a question asked by Dr.Khedkar:

Caste	Population	No. of gazetted posts.	Proportion
1. Brahmin	5,42,555	448	1 for every 1,211
2. Musalman	7,83,697	99	1 for every 7,904
3. Maratha & Kunbi	15,18,619*	12	1 for every 1,26,551
4. Mali	5,87,502	5	1 for every 1,15,500
5. Scheduled Castes	30,51,413	3	1 for 10,17,137
6. Sikh	14,996	13	1 for every 1153.6

(* The printed answer gives the figure 5,18,619. But this was clearly meant to be 15,18,619. Even in 1931 the Maratha and Kunbi population was at least 13,00,000).

It wouldbe also very interesting to know how the appointments went between 1937 to 1939 and April 1946 and September 1948 in the Provinces especially of Bombay and the C.P. It is unfortunate most people do not show the generosity of even studying the facts. What I and many who think with me ask for is justice and fairplay. We are not actuated by any motives of revenge or animosities. These feelings become uppermost in our minds when we find that people are resorting to dodges, tricks and misrepresentations and while they are striving to maintain these caste monopolies by hook or crook, they brand the opponents as communalistic. With a larger number of intelligent people and with the Press and platform under their command, it has always been possible for them to suppress the demands of the real masses of India under one name or the other. I have used the above phrase - "suppressed millions", which I have borrowed from Sir Stafford Cripps who as late as 1942 told me that in Great Britain also

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they were fighting a very similar battle. The masses of people may not have been oppressed in every case but that they were being suppressed and have been suppressed was in his opinion an undeniable fact even of life in Great Britain. I wonder if it would be possible for you to kindly accept my suggestion and call for statistics from all Provincial Governments at an early date.

With best regards & respects

Yours sincerely,

R. V. Vaidya

Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel,
Deputy Prime Minister of India,
New Delhi.

13-E, Ferozeshah Road,
New Delhi
28 - 8 - 48

My dear Sardar Saheb,

For a very long time, I have been eager to find an opportunity to discuss some important matters with you. But your prolonged illness and even your delicate health have stood in my way. How much I wish that you are soon restored to your former ~~health~~ strength and vigour? The iron man of India needs an iron physique and may our prayers to this end be rewarded soon. You are the pivot on whom all our hopes hinge, and though I have my differences with you on the way in which you think the labour and development problems of the country can be solved, I give wholehearted support and approval to your marvellous achievement in the States and to your approach in our dealings with Pakistan.

But, I want to be brutally frank with you. I feel and so many others feel that our country today is in serious danger~~s~~ that a war with Pakistan is highly probable and that we are not facing this danger in a realistic manner. The Kashmir issue has been bungled from the very beginning. It was foolish for us to have imposed the condition of a plebiscite at the time of its accession, and it was all the more foolish to have sent the problem to the UNO, where we are friendless. But, what makes us hold our head in shame are our military defeats in Kashmir. Our military resources are at least twice, if not thrice, as large as those of Pakistan at present. But, we have made no effort to concentrate all these resources in Kashmir and to have a short and swift campaign. Further, when it is now admitted even by Pakistan itself that its troops are fighting in Kashmir, why then must we not attack the bases in the Punjab, which are used to prepare these offensives. We are in a way fighting with our hands tied to the ~~xxii~~ back. ~~xxxxxxx~~ Of course that may mean the breaking of open war with Pakistan. But, are you in any real doubt that war with Pakistan is inevitable and at any rate, it is to our advantage not to allow Pakistan to concentrate all its ~~xxxxxxx~~ resources in Kashmir. The timing of the Hyderabad ~~battle~~ by Pakistan to synchronise with their offensive in Kashmir is obvious. I even feel that if we attack the West Punjab and Frontier bases, from where Kashmir offensives are mounted, Pakistan will come to its senses and will not dare to declare a war on Hindusthan. But, the risk is obviously there and we must be prepared for it.

Apart from the military front, I am most anxious ~~xxxx~~ about the Home front. It is now obvious that our policy of the indiscriminate arrests of Hindu youngmen and the ruthless suppression of the RSS was wrong. Mahatmaji's murder trial proceedings have proved conclusively that the RSS had no hand in it whatever. You are also aware that the RSS as an organisation has lofty and patriotic ideals and has nothing to do with the Hindu Mahasabha. Their only difference with the Congress has been that they wanted a more realistic policy to be pursued towards Pakistan. Your Lucknow speech, ~~xxxx~~ which I had the proud privilege to hear, was in my opinion the most correct and statesmanlike approach for winning over the RSS to the Congress fold. But, your present policy has ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ resulted in the suppression of an organisation whose missionary zeal and disciplined strength could have been harnessed in the service of the Nation, and has also embittered them unnecessarily. In our party meeting

P.T.O.

held after Gandhiji's murder, you yourselves stated that the RSS had performed real national service on numerous occasions and had a strong hold over the people. Your words have been proved true. The suppression of the RSS has really alienated the sympathies of a very large section of the population while repression has only made the sufferers more steeled in their determination. In the jails, their cadres have gone through the same invaluable experiences through which we Congressmen went, and which ultimately carried us to victory. I am sure you realise that you cannot destroy the RSS through repression. The wisest thing therefore is to win them over to our side. They are today in a different mood; still they do not want to embarrass the National Government. They hold you in very high respect. I have no doubt that you can perform the miracle like the one you have performed in regard to the States. If you decide to do it, you must as a gesture release all the RSS men still in jail and meet their leaders and seek their cooperation in this National Crisis with which we are faced today. And, from what little I know of this organisation, I can say that you will have their entire services at your disposal, merely for the asking. Unfortunately, today, even in your Delhi, their Weekly Organ, the "Organiser", has been ordered to stop publication. I have carefully gone through all the four issues published by them after the release of their press recently. I will bring these copies with me for your perusal. I do not feel that there is anything in them which warrants such drastic action. They have already deposited a security of Rs. 2,000 with the government. This security has not been forfeited and yet the paper has been suppressed. This is something unheard of and extraordinary, and I think wholly illegal. Such actions bring our government into disrepute. I had intended to table short notice questions but I thought it better to first write to you.

Another real problem in the consolidation of our home front are the Communists. There is no doubt whatever that there is real danger from their side. From what they are doing in Madras and Hyderabad, they have lost the sympathies of even their best friends. But, here, too, there must be a clearcut central policy which must be consistently pursued. There must not be any variations in the central and provincial policy towards them. Bengal on its own initiative bans communists while the Centre does not. These things discredit us. Above all, we must try to damn them by giving publicity to their foul deeds. The public opion is against them. This we must harness to the full. Too much use of the police baton does not help us; it discredits us and gets them sympathisers. I would urge the use of more democratic methods to end their influence and to suppress them. Of course, when they resort to violence strong action must be taken against them.

I am one of the Vice-Presidents of the All-India Trade Union Congress and as such I know their strength and their weakness. You will probably be glad to learn that now the Communist majority in the All-India Trade Union Congress has dwindled considerably. I had long talks recently with Shri Gulzarilal Nanda about the subject at Bombay about the AITUC and INTUC. I frankly told him that I was serving the Congress better by remaining in the AITUC. I do not want that we should let the Communists be in possession of an organisation with the prestige of which the AITUC enjoys in the country as well as in labour. I think we

P. T. O.

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can now capture the AITUC for non-Communists. We have formed a strong non-Communist Front inside the AITUC and we hope to capture the office of the AITUC at its annual session next February. Mr. N. M. Joshi is also tired of the Communists, and he will give up the General Secretaryship of the AITUC next February. In fact, I feel that you can win over Mr. N. M. Joshi by tactful handling, just as you won over Dr. Ambedkar. I would suggest to you that the INTUC should launch a move for a merger of all labour organisations in the country into one single Federation or Confederation. Mr. N. M. Joshi will, I think, be helpful. These Communists will be in such a hopeless minority that the AITUC will become a non-Communist organisation immediately.

also

But, I must warn you that the present policy of the Congress to make the INTUC its part and parcel and to take away all its democratic freedom is giving a fillip to the accusation that the INTUC is a Government-cum-Capitalist organisation. My own experience of the INTUC in the U. P., where the Indian Sugar Syndicate dictates the labour policy of the INTUC is bitter. You may not like my saying it; but as one who has served the Congress all my life and has sacrificed his all for it and who has always told the bitter truth even at the risk of displeasing almighty people like Jawaharlalji [redacted], so that the Congress may not suffer or be weakened, I want to tell you that the present policy of the INTUC is wrong. I am in direct contact with several lacs of labourers in my day-to-day work. I am the President of the All-India Dock and Port Workers' Federation, which controls about one lac labourers in Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Vizagapatam and Tuticorin. I am the President of the Assam Railway Union and Vice-President of the O. T. Railway Staff Welfare Union and of the All-India Railway Running Staff Council as well as the Train Examiners' Committee, and am in direct touch with more railwaymen than any other person in the country. I am one of the Vice-Presidents of the All-India Postmen and Lower Grade Staff Union, which conducted the last All-India Postmen's strike. I am the General Secretary of the All-India Central Government Employees' Union of which Prof. A. T. Shah is the President. We were opposed to to the General Strike launched by the Central Government employees in Calcutta and although we strongly disapprove of the methods used to crush that strike, we did not permit a simultaneous strike in Delhi, Bombay, Madras and other centres, for which strong pressure was brought to bear upon us. The Central Government employees' Unions which have so far joined this Federal have a membership of 2½ lacs. I have been the President of the U. P. and Bihar Chini Mill Mazdoor Federation since 1937, and even though Mr. Harihar Nath Shastri has formed a rival Federation, he knows full well that if there is a referendum of all the sugar factory workers in U. P. and Bihar, I will get the support of an overwhelming majority. Apart from these big Federations, I am connected with numerous jute, cotton, oil mills and other unions. As one who holds you in unbounded affection, I wish to tell you that the efforts to boost up the INTUC (in collusion with the employers and with government aid) have weaned away the sympathy of the workers away from the Congress. These words of mine may not be to your liking, but I am only communicating to you the true situation as a result of my personal observation.

Shri Harihar Nath Shastri and others may delude you by saying that the INTUC commands the allegiance of all workers; but that is not the truth. Most of the Unions which have gone over to the INTUC are there because that is the only door to government and employers' recognition. But, I tell you, that the real feelings of the workers even of many of the INTUC unions is the same as I have said above.

To see that the home front is fully organised and does not crack in the event of a war with Pakistan, I think, you have to give very serious thought to the problems of on the labour front. I would like to discuss with you your general policy in this respect.

Then, there is the Industrial Front. I know you are keenly aware of that unless we raise production in all spheres several times of its present quantity, we are in serious danger. Inflation which bids fair to devour our newly-won freedom has no real remedy Unfortunately, our government has not announced its industrial plan so far. In fact, the Planning Commission must be set up immediately to evolve such a plan. But, no plan can succeed unless there is a ruthless attack on corruption. Whether in the Congress or in the Government or amongst the public in general, corruption is rampant all round. Unless ruthless measures are adopted to stop it, it cannot be brought to an end. And, so long as corruption exists, the Home Front cannot be said to be safe.

But, the most baffling problem is the Fifth Column element in our population. I know there is a growing section of the Muslim population which will be loyal to India even if war breaks out with Pakistan. But, the disloyal element will also not be small.

My letter has become long, but I thought I must pour out my heart before you. Most people feel that our government is afraid even to issue a warning to the country that a war with Pakistan is a probability. Unless we do so and set about mobilising the whole country and its resources towards that end, our newly-won freedom may be lost.

I will be in Delhi upto the 6th of September, but I would feel obliged if I could get an early opportunity to discuss the various points raised in this letter.

Yours sincerely,

Shrikant Jaykar

New Delhi,
3rd September 1948.

My dear Govind Malaviya,

Thank you for your letter of the 15th August 1948. I am sorry that the reply has been delayed on account of my many preoccupations. I have no doubt whatsoever that the proposal which Rohit Mehta has made would have been distasteful to Gandhiji. It is, therefore, out of the question for us to take it up.

Yours sincerely,

Shri Govind Malaviya,
19, Ferozshah Road,
New Delhi.

M.

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PERSONAL.

19 Ferozeshah Road,
New Delhi.
August 15, 1948.

My dear Sardar Vallabhbhaiji,

Here is a letter from my friend Shri Rohit Mehta, General Secretary of the Theosophical Society. He has enclosed with it a copy of his letter to you. Do kindly let me know if you would like the matter to be raised in the Parliament in the shape of a question, and if not, what reply you would like me to send to Mr.Mehta.

With respectful regards,

Yours sincerely,

Gouri Malaviya

The Hon'ble
Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel,
Minister Incharge of Home Affairs,
Government of India, New Delhi.

Encl: Two.

The Theosophical Society
INDIAN SECTION: BANARAS

General Secretary: ROHIT MEHTA

Telegrams: THEOSOPHY.

August 12, 1948

My dear Govindji:

I am herewith enclosing a copy of my letter to Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. The letter explains itself. I am writing this letter to request you to kindly raise this matter in the Dominion Parliament at a convenient question hour. It will probably go as a short notice question.

I need not dwell upon the importance of this matter. With the cancellation of the Christmas holidays by most of the Provincial Governments there is no convenient time during which Conferences and Conventions of an All-India nature can be held. That we should have some such time which is uniformly declared as a holiday throughout the country is a matter which does not need arguing. I believe the Central Government too by a notification have cancelled the Christmas holidays. This makes it extremely difficult for All-India public bodies to have their conferences. You very well know that religious holidays will not do as people will not like to stir out of their houses during that period. Christmas, so far, was most convenient as it was not a religious festival for most people in India. My suggestion is that from 30th. January to 12th. February may be declared as National holiday throughout the country, in memory of Gandhiji, when people can meet in conferences to discuss matters of national and international importance.

I shall feel greatly obliged if you will raise this matter in the Dominion Parliament in the form of a Question so that we may be enabled to know what the Government reaction is to this proposal. I have not written to any other member about this.

With best Wishes,

Yours Sincerely,

Rohit Mehta

COPY

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The Theosophical Society,
Banaras; July 24, 1948.

To : The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel,
Minister of Home Affairs,
Government of India,
NEW DELHI.

Dear Sir,

I hope to be excused for encroaching upon your very valuable time. I know there are many urgent State matters needing your immediate attention. However, I do hope you will give some time to consider the matter which I am placing before you in this letter as it is of National importance.

Both the Government of India and almost all the Provincial Governments in our country have cancelled Christmas holidays. This is quite understandable as there is no point in having such a long vacation in a country where the Christian population is so microscopic. But, as most people in India did not and do not observe Christmas as a religious festival these holidays have been utilized for the last more than 50 years by all types of National organizations to hold their annual conferences. During other religious festivals people naturally are not inclined to move out to attend conferences and conventions and so the Christmas holidays have been associated in this country with annual gatherings of scores of National and International Organizations. As you know the Indian National Congress too used to have its sessions for many years during Christmas holidays. Now with the Christmas holidays cancelled there is no time during the year when people can meet for conferences and conventions.

It is not necessary for me to write here how necessary it is to have some common holidays during the year for this purpose. In a Free India the need for these conferences will be all the more and as stated above religious festivals will not be of much use as people will not like to stir out of their houses during those days for attending conferences and conventions.

I, therefore, suggest that in memory of Mahatma Gandhi a period from January 30 to February 12 may be declared as public holiday throughout the country each year. This will be a period of National Remembrance reminding the people of this land of the tremendous sacrifice given by Gandhiji in the cause of Humanity. This would be the most appropriate time for people to meet and discuss matters of national and international importance. Besides, there cannot be a better memorial to Gandhiji than this of meeting together for considering matters for the improvement of the lot of humanity--as most of these conferences deal with questions of human welfare. If this period is declared as a common holiday it will be very convenient for all the various organizations in this country.

I write this on behalf of the Theosophical Society in India. You probably know that the Theosophical Society every year has its international Convention in India--either in Madras or in Banaras. I shall feel highly obliged if you will kindly give this matter your most favourable consideration.

Yours faithfully,
Sd/- Rohit Mehta,
General Secretary,
The Theosophical Society in India.

33

Congress Party in the Dominion Parliament.

24, Council House,
New Delhi, 26-8-48.

Dear Sir/Madam,

On the advice of Hon'ble the Prime Minister, a Committee consisting of the members of the Congress Party in the Dominion Parliament with powers to co-opt other members, has been appointed to organise the provision of Amenities and Comforts for our Troops engaged in Kashmir operations as well as those wounded in those operations. The Committee will formally be announced.

Hon'ble the Prime Minister will address a meeting of the Committee at 6 p.m. on Saturday the 28th August, 1948, in Constitution Club on the work to be done by the Committee.

You are requested to kindly attend the meeting and help in organising the Amenities.

Yours sincerely,

Satya narayan Sinha.

Secretary.

THE EXISTING INFLATION AND HIGH PRICES

The rise in prices of almost all essential commodities is a source of anxiety to everybddy concerned. The rising spiral of prices followed up by increase in dearness allowance among industrial workers, where dearness allowance is linked with the cost of living, is a vicious circle which can only be broken if drastic remedies are taken to check the rising prices. The middle class employees, artisans, professionals, and other sections of society who have no connection with profiteering are very hard hit, and the discontent which is mounting up amongst them, will have very wide political repercussions. The rise after the decontrol policy has been so abrupt and precipitous that the consumers at large are stunned. Various causes are being advanced for this economic collapse and various remedies are being suggested; however, there is no denying the fact that unless the Government moves in the matter immediately, the situation might go out of control.

It is necessary to go into the causes of the sudden rise in prices before any remedies are suggested. Some of the causes have all along been at work; but it so happens that the starts were so insignificant that it did not attract the attention until the stage is now reached when the causes cannot escape public attention. The immediate cause is the removal of control. There can be but one opinion that it has been done too early. I feel that without removing the inflationary causes, the removal of control of prices of essential commodities would necessarily invite disaster. Removal od control is primarily responsible for the steep rise in prices during the last six months and it had added to the momentum of rise in prices of all goods which was already in existence. Then the tendency of prices to rise was in check. However, the floodgate of control having been opened, the pent-up tendency assumed torrential proportions, and therefore it is all the more necessary to take very drastic and effective steps to stabilise the prices at a level consistent with national economy.

Before I proceed to suggest the ways and means, I would briefly examine the causes, as the remedy must relate to the causes to be effective. The treatment of the present disease by its very nature cannot be palliative, but it has to be permanent and effective. This treatment may look unpleasant but it will have to be applied as the relation between the supply and demand of various commodities has been disturbed so as to upset the equilibrium which under the present conomy is not likely to attain for a long time to come. The factors responsible for this upsetting of equilibrium of the ordinary law of economics are profiteering, hoarding, and a sort of organised non-cooperation by the vested interests. The speculators have been left entirely free by the Government to further aggravate the situation. The production at home is limited and one cannot shut one's eyes to the fact that the home production is not likely to advance considerably to ease the situation. All talks of increased production are theoretical and the state would have to plan its economy taking into consideration the obvious physical potentialities of only insignificant increases in population. The economic deterioration caused by the War coupled with the sudden political changes are also some important and potent factors which do not allow the economic situation to come to normality. The War, as everybody knows, has brought in its train, inflationary finances and haphazard adjustment of the national economy to finance the war needs, resulting in deterioration all round.

The railway transport is also no less responsible for creating a glut in the producing centre while creating scarcity in the consuming centre for commodities which are either manufactured in the country or imported from abroad.

The rise in prices in the matter of food and other raw materials has put into the hands of rural population very large purchasing power, while on the other hand, the consumption goods have not kept pace with this increased purchasing power. The fact that rural indebtedness has been practically wiped out has released considerable purchasing power to the rural population; the money, rent and land revenue to the landlords or Government remaining stationary have also increased the purchasing power to a further extent. The monetary increase in purchasing power does not necessarily mean higher standard of living which can only be assured by additional consumption goods. However unpleasant it is, we have to face the fact that in the near future it should not be possible to supply consumption goods to satisfy the rural population and therefore the obvious remedy is to curtail by some means the purchasing power.

The cloth, cement, steel, sugar, vegetable ghee, jute and such other nationwide industries have amassed large fortunes. The trade channel through which the commodities manufactured passed have also got a very large credit which have been built up by profiteering or black-marketing. The fair and unfair fortune acquired during the war either through deposited bank credits or inflationary currency notes are playing decisive parts not only in keeping up the market level but are responsible to a very large extent in raising up the prices by speculation.

The tax evasion indulged by profiteers and black-marketers is also responsible for the present deterioration in the economic situation which is, in my opinion, on the verge of collapse. The steps that are being taken to catch the tax evaders are dilatory and in my opinion not calculated to yield any immediate salutary results. The trials will go on for years and during that period, the mischief that the concealed currency will play will go unchecked.

The cumulative effect of all the factors mentioned above must be taken into consideration before any remedial measures are contemplated. The situation in the country has deteriorated to such an extent that short of planned economic rehabilitation any disintegrated action in one section of the economy or the other will have results which may be contrary to what is contemplated. The silent but certain campaign by the vested interests of undermining the reputation and credit of the new state should not go unnoticed. These attempts of the vested interests as mentioned above to undermine the confidence of the people in the Government, require very careful consideration and drastic action should be taken before further deterioration takes place. The attempts of the vested interests are indeed shortsighted and suicidal. They will encourage and are already encouraging the disruptive and unsocial elements in the country which are assiduously trying to create political and economic chaos in the country.

The recent all round control of production and distribution of cloth and the contemplated control over cotton prices along with discriminative control, rationing, and distribution of food grains by different provinces are according to me only palliative measures. These measures will not produce permanent and stabilising results unless steps are taken to freeze some portion of surplus credit, and surplus currencies that are playing their natural part in pushing the prices higher and higher. As has already been stated, the over-all production

of essential commodities is more or less static, and so the purchasing power requires to be gradually contracted. The unavailability of capital goods within a short time and even if the capital goods are available according to sterling adjustment, will take at least two years before any additional commodities are put into market. Even then the supply of consumer goods will be very limited, and therefore the Government of India should make an intensive drive for increase in production of consumer goods through the cottage and hand industries. The encouragement of these industries according to the existing constitution is left to the provincial governments but for aught we know, the provincial governments have neither the resources nor the personnel to achieve the object in view. The Central Government in the interest of the over-all national economy should pay increasing attention to this aspect of nationaleconomy particularly in the matter of cloth production which includes hand-spinning also. The step-motherly attitude and lip sympathy shown towards cottage and rural industries requires to be radically altered, and the Government should not only assist the existing cottage industries but should take immediate steps to fost r new cottage industries by the method of handsome subsidies. Whenprotection has been given to large scale established industries from time to time, there is no justifiable reason why cottage industries should not be given priority of development. I am firmly of the view that any effective and immediate steps in this direction will greatly assist in solving the impending economic collapse that is threatening the country today. This aspect of our national economy should be considered as an indispensable integral part of solving the present crisis which requires cheap and adequate supply of consumer goods. This willalsoharness incidentally the vast unused human energy in productive channels. The attempt to increase the production of consumer goods through imported capital goods at high prices will naturally not take us to our cherished goal of cheaper products even if the capital goods are available. There is no escape from giving high priority to cottage industries from whatever angle one may look at it.

The campaign that is going on for increasing agricultural production and the huge development plans towards this and will yet take quite a few years before they fructify and food is made available in concrete form to the consumers. This period of development is again fraught with economic consequences which have also to be taken into consideration. At the same time huge loans would have to be raised for this purpose. ~~Large number of workers would have to be raised for this purpose.~~ Large number of workers would have to be engaged. The whole of this period of development would not give us any more food and the shortage of food will have to be met by importing additional foodstuffs which will also would require money. The problem therefore before the country is to adjust monetary and currency problems in such a way that with the static production for the next five years coupled with industrial and agricultural development programme, cheap consumer goods are to be made available to the people. It is no use hiding the fact that the talk of increased production is unreal in the existing context and the country would have to adjust itself to the supply that will be available. To harp on the unreal cry for more production than what is physically possible is to delude the people i to false expectation incapable of being fulfilled. The Government must take the people into confidence and frankly tell them to pass through a period of scarcity of consumer goods with patience. I am sure, if people are told about the real situation, they will respond to the patriotic appeal made by Government.

However, during this transition period, Government must unhesitatinglytake effective steps to bring down the prices of all essential commodities including those required by agriculturists to a level which may be 150 per cent above the pre-War level and the whole economy should be based on this level.

(1). As a first step, prices of cotton and cloth should be fixed at a level which should be maintained by planned control of these two commodities - both in the matter of procurement and distribution. The production of textiles should be so controlled that the textile mills produce only utility cloth of coarse and medium counts and the cloth so produced should be made durable by making it as square cloth as technically possible. The manufacture of cloth over 40 counts should be entirely prohibited.as long as the present economy has to be the fate of our country. When there is scarcity it is a cruel job to cater to the luxury of a few aristocratic and richer sections of the society.

(2). The speculation in any of the essential commodities must be prohibited by law.

(3). Banks should be prohibited fromadvancing on the hypothecation of essential commodities.

(4). Food articles should be sold through the Government fair price shops at rates to be fixed at a level which may be higher by 150 per cent over the pre-War level.

(5). Purchasing power of those whose monthly income is more than Rs. 500/- should be contracted by making it obligatory on the employers to give to their employees only 80 per cent of their salary while the remaining 20 per cent should be frozen by means of deferred payment Bonds which are made negotiable and cashable after a period of five years.

(6). The Government must make arrangements to issue new paper currency which may be exchanged with the existing currency within a fixed period at the rate of 80 per cent of the value tendered at the Bank or Post Office or the Revenue Offices. The remaining 20 per cent should be met by issuing to the tenderer, the Deferred Payment Government Bonds to be cashable and negotiable after a period of five years. These bonds as envisaged should not bear any interest for the period of five years.

(7). The amount invested as deposits or investments in Banks or Government Securities by the firms, corporations, co-operative bodies, individuals or any other institutions should be frozen for immediate use to the extent of about 33-1/3 per cent. The frozen amount should not bear any interest as the purpose of this actionis to increase the general purchasing power of all money. The frozen amount should be also made non-negotiable. The releases from this frosen amount should be also made non-negotiable. The releases from this frozen amount should only be given by a certificate of the Reserve Bank of India for the purpose of purchasing capital goods from abroad or financing any new industrial floatations which may naturally require capital goods. These releases will be in the nature of re-investment which may bear normal interest. This step will bring out the deliberately suppressed capital, which is considered shy. The frozen portion of capital can also be made available for subscribing to the Government loans for the purpose of industrial and agricultural development of the country. The steps

The steps contemplated above will naturally reduce the potential purchasing power to some extent and will help in fighting the inflationary trend.

(8). The recent agreement arrived at with U.K. with regard to sterling balance, should be fully utilised. In order that the country is able to utilise the full amount of these releases, the Government should form a Corporation with a view to purchase commodities from sterling areas at Government level.

(9). The export trade should alsobe entirely handled by the Government in order to eliminate the huge profits in these trades, which is also a factor in pushing up inflation. The system of granting licences for export tradeshould be abolished and Government itself should trade at Government level so that the export and import trade can be adjusted according to the requirements of the country.

(10). The Central and Provincial Governments must deliberately plan to produce surplus budgets so thata portion of additional purchasing power can be withdrawn through taxation.

The alternative to the above mentioned freezing of the part of purchasing power is to devalue the currency by half. Any devaluation of the currency is likely to shake the confidence ofthe people in the paper currencyand therefore the above mentioned remedy is suggested as an alternative antidote to inflation. The suggestion effectively contracts the current as well as the potentially latent purchasing power of various sections and the cross sections of the community without the drastic remedy of devaluation. At the same time, it ensures the future development of industry and other major irrigation and agricultural projects by releasing dormant and idle credit and cash lying with thosewho have made considerable saving during the war period.

If the suggestions made above are acceptable to the Government, partially or wholly, the economists and financial experts can work out the details of implementing the same. This note is being presented to the Government for whatever it is worth, as coming from a common man who does not claim to be either an economist or a financier.

K.
Sd. Khandubhai/Desai.

Ahmedabad,
3.8.1948.

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PROPOSAL FOR AN INDIAN COMMERCIAL CORPORATION

The international trade of all nations is severely handicapped owing to extreme shortage of supply of capital as well as consumer goods, mainly because the War has shattered or seriously dislocated the economic organisation in many countries. There is, in consequence, a medley of controls, regulations or restrictions on the Foreign Trade of every country, which further impedes the recovery and reconstruction in every land affected by the War. These controls, regulations or restrictions lead, in their turn, to a degree of corruption, waste and inefficiency, not to mention social unrest, which make any consistent, coherent programme of recovery impossible to achieve.

To avoid these difficulties and to expedite the national programme of recovery and planned development of all our actual and potential resources, it is necessary to reorganise the machinery for conducting the foreign trade of this country. At the present time, despite the presence of the manifold regulations and restrictions in the shape of Import and Export licences, Foreign Exchange facilities, etc., the foreign trade of India is in a state of chaos, leading to great corruption and confusion in the official as well as the business world. To avoid these, and to organise and develop the foreign trade of India on sound lines, it is suggested that steps may be taken to establish by law a statutory Corporation called the Indian Commercial Corporation.

A model for such a Corporation is to be found in the United Kingdom Commercial Corporation of War-time notoriety. Whatever the reaction in India of the operations of that institution, it served Britain very materially in its hour of need, not only by procuring muchneeded supplies at very reasonable prices to carryon the War, but also by providing funds and finding markets.

Although the United Kingdom Commercial Corporation was registered in April 1940 with the declared object of "outbidding the enemy in competitive and neutral regions", subsequently it came "to be regarded as a spearhead par excellence of the British export drive, which has been successfully weeding out the world's weaklings in the domain of international trade and opening for itself fresh avenues of trade and thus developing substantially strong supports to prop up the British rehabilitation and reconstruction programmes in the post-War period when trade rivalries are expected to become keener than ever before".

Every country in the world makes the best effort to give impetus by all manner of things to stimulate its export trade, and in pursuance of that policy the UKCC was brought into existence when they found that it was difficult to maintain old contacts. In fact the UKCC was the culminating point of the persistent efforts which the British Government and its people had been consistently making to increase British exports at any cost. During the War, in February 1940, the Export Council was created. The objects of the Export Council were described in an official White Paper dated 5th March 1940 as follows:-

"The maintenance of Export Trade is so vital a factor in the War effort of the Allied Powers that no measure calculated to contribute to the end in viewshould be

excluded from consideration. The first aim of export industries and merchants as well as of the Export Council should be to secure such adjustments of the machinery created to deal with the War-time economic responsibilities of the State as will effectively overcome impediments to exports trade. It is essential that under war conditions exporters should receive direction, guidance and support from the Central Government to a degree never contemplated under peace conditions. The council will place no limit to the expedients they would be prepared to consider."

It may be added that the Export Council organised Export Groups in the more important export industries and took steps to ensure that sales and advertising activities abroad were conducted on a co-operative basis.

Apart from the inefficiency and corruption, the mercantile community of importers and exporters were working under serious handicaps. They had to obtain export licences from the Government and several formalities had to be undergone with the well-known red-tapism of the Government which, at any rate, delayed operations. In any case private trade being conducted for the sale of profit could never assume the same scale as could be assumed by a Government Corporation.

It will not be out of place to mention here the report of the International Trade Policy Committee of the Federation of British Industries. While placing on record its appreciation of the work done by the UKCC, it stated that "the Committee furthermore believes that in years after the War, there may be a number of directions in which the Corporation could be of assistance."

The London Economist also made important speculations on this subject and it visualised "a useful and perhaps permanent role to the Corporation in post-War years. If the bulk trading with Government monopolies is the shape which international trade takes after the War, then perhaps there could not be a better foreign trade organisation than the UKCC from the British viewpoint."

It may be mentioned here that the UKCC had formed various subsidiaries, the first being UKCC (Spain) which was registered in October 1940 with a capital of £10,000/-. Thereafter subsidiaries were formed in Turkey, Palestine, Egypt, Sudan, Syria, Portugal, etc. In some countries the UKCC had their direct representatives as in India, New York and Buenos Ayres. The English and Scottish Commercial Corporation (ESCC), a parallel organisation was an important member of the Corporation. Likewise in trading with the Middle East, the Corporation had acted as the important operating instrument of the Middle East Supply Centre. The UKCC was thus a large composite organisation having its net spread far and wide.

Again, Argentina took judicious and suitable measures to "bulwark and nurse her foreign trade" evoking the admiration for the sincerity, sympathy and patriotism of their Government. The Trade Promotion Corporation was established in September 1941 in order to increase and expand Argentina's foreign trade with a "three-point programme of studying carefully the possibilities of foreign markets, carrying on publicity campaigns scientifically and extensively, and engaging experts to advise local purchasers regarding the tastes and demands of foreign markets."

In view of the economic malaise in this country, it is imperative that some effort must be made, the sooner the better, to reorganise on sound lines the foreign trade of the country, and hence this proposal to establish an Indian Commercial Corporation.

The Corporation, if agreed upon to be formed, should in the first instance deal and function as a monopolist in certain items of the foreign trade of India such as export of cotton and jute textiles, vegetable oil and oil seeds, tea and coffee, hides and skins, mica, manganese and various articles produced by our cottage industries, and also the import of articles such as food, fertilizers, machinery including stores and supplies for the railways, heavy chemicals, hardware, iron and steel. Both imports and exports of the said items must be through the Corporation, whether of capital or consumer goods, Government stores or bullion. Only then would it be possible so to arrange and organise the trade, as would procure in as much quantity as is needed and can possibly be procured, all the capital goods without which the plans for development and expansion of the national economy cannot be implemented. Only then would it be possible to obtain all the very essential consumer goods, as would meet in the largest measure the demand for the same for nearly a decade, in this country as well as abroad. And, finally, only then would it be possible to rationalise foreign exchanges.

The Corporation should be formed into a Statutory Body, set up by specific law, whose provisions would regulate its constitution, powers and functions. In India, it will buy for export from Indian producers or sellers whatever is needed for export, of which it should have the sole control (like any other buyer). It will, sell, likewise, like any other seller the imports it brings into the country, preferably on indents from purchasers and not to stock. In foreign countries it will mainly sell to its subsidiary corporations, formed under the authority of its own constitution, in accordance with the law of the particular country it trades in, selling at prices prevailing in each such country India's exports and buying also at corresponding prices as was done by the UKCC.

The margin, such as it may be, should be for the parent Corporation, to be paid into the Treasury or otherwise disposed of as may be provided for in the Statute setting up the Corporation. The Corporation would alsobe entitled to deal directly with the Reserve Bank of India for all matters affecting and concerning the foreign and particularly Dollar exchange, as also for buying and selling bullion; and all profit or surplus resulting from those transactions will likewise be disposed of in the manner laid down in the Statute.

One of the principal assets of the UKCC, it maybe remembered, was its command over the best commercial skill and experience available in Britain. It was able to draw upon the experience and skill born of long trading. In fact, apart from a few officials, 90 per cent of its staff was drawn from business and banking houses.

We, therefore, suggest that the management of the Corporation should be entrusted to a supreme Directorate, consisting of not more than seven persons, chosen with an eye to their experience in business, industry or banking. These persons, once appointed should be whole-time servants, suitably remunerated. They must be expected and required to have no contacts or interests of their own in business or industry, once they are appointed to their posts.

It may be said that such persons maynot be available for the purpose at the present time in the country. We have no doubt that on an appeal made by the Government of India, we can certainly obtain at least seven persons, being top men in banking, industry and business, who will offer their services tothe nation at the time of her need. The staff should also be drawn from business houses.

Under the Supreme Directorate, there will be General Managers,and departmental heads, according to the character of the business to be transacted in each department. These also would be whole-time public servants, suitably remunerated having no other interest in business or industry.

The Corporation will naturally function in extremely close association with the various Departments of Government and the Embassies and Trade Commissioners abroad. The "Eastern Economist" once observed thatthe close relationship between consular and ambassadorial agencies and trade expansion is now understood by every nation and of no country other than India can it be said that foreign trade is left alone to take care of itself,"

The Corporation will be made to supply all the needs of the various departments of the Government. It will play a really important role in our economic history. This is an age in which trading bodies, subsidised, helped and financed by Government have really become a necessity. This body will help to protect the country's economy from external aggrandisement and unfair competition. Besides, it will mark out in the evolution of India's commercial policy a departure forthe better.

In this manner, the ICC will be able to trade on its own account most efficiently. All the profits will remain in our own country. The ICC will be a large scale importer and exporter of goods. It will have considerable power to help or hinder our economic development, which it will certainly exercise for our economic betterment. It will stop the blind import of consumer gaas and luxury goods, and would try to secure capital goods for our industries and other things which are our greatest needs atthis time.

This body being intimately held and assisted not only by the Government of India but also by its Ambassadors and Trade Commissionms abroad, will be able tl create markets for our cottage industries and other products in foreign countries, the possibilities of which though immense are at present completely ignored. In fact, it is impossible to put down in this Note the great potentialities of this organisation, taking into consideration the hard times through which our country is now passing.

This Corporation may be branded as a "State Socialism" and it is bound to be criticised by the commercial community. But unfortunately the commercial community as a whole has not stood by the country. It shall not necessarily exterminate the commercial community altogether. The commercial community will still continue to function under the aegis of this parent body, the Indian Commercial Corporation.

Care will be taken, as far as possible, to ensure that there is no undue usurpation by the ICC over the sphere of activities of private traders. Where the private trador is operating and can be allowed to operate without any difficulty and loss of efficiency, the private sector of trading mechanism would not be touched, But where this is not so, the ICC would step in.

If the principl of the formation of the ICC is adopted, then it is easy to ork out the total figure of the trade which will be hand d by it. The gulf between purchase price and the sale price oth for imports and exports being substantially larger it i estimated that this Corporation will be able to contribute very considerable percentage to the coffers of the Exchequer.

It may be menti ed here that Burma today purchases her surplus food stuffs l e rice at the price prevailing in Burma and sells it in th world's market at a much higher price and the difference is contribution to the finances of the Government. Likewise, th JSA are taking from the Japs cotton textiles and other articles t a price prevailing in Japan and selling it at double or tr le the price in foreign countries.

Taking only one stance for the time being, India exports to the extent of 3 million yards of cloth and sells the same in foreign countrie . The purchase of textiles in this country and sale a road alone will give us a profit of minimum 25 crores of r es.

We do not claim y originality or novelty in regard to this idea. This ha been borrowed from the experience of other countries, and muta s mutandis adopted to the requirements of this country.

(Signed) Ramanath Goenka
Mohanlal Saksena
B. P. Jhunjhunwala
Deshbandhu Gupta
M. A. Aiyangar

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40

PERSONAL.

1 Aurangazeb Road,
New Delhi, 17.8.1948.

Dear Sri Mavalankar,

Please see your letter No.D.2084/48 of the 17th August 1948 regarding Panth Piploda.

I have already asked for very early comments from the Home Ministry. I shall watch the pace of its disposal.

Yours sincerely,

(V.SHANKAR).

The Hon. Sri. G.V.Mavalankar,
20 Akbar Road,
NEW DELHI.

+V.

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PERSONAL.

TEL. ADDRESS:
"LOKASABHA"
टेलीफोन नं.
अहमदाबाद - ७२४६
दिल्ली - ४०३०७
मुंबई - ६०६२०

20, Akbar Road,
New Delhi,
The 17th August,
1948.

No.D.2084/48.

Subject: Re: Panth Piploda.

My dear Shankar,

You know, a close friend of mine (Sardar M. V. Kibe of Indore) is interested in the little State of Panth Piploda. The Jagirdar is the brother-in-law of Sardar Kibe. I understand that the brother-in-law (Sjt: Ganpatrao Gopalrao Khandekar), one of the sharers, has not received from the present head of the family, the allowance which he used to receive since the time there has been litigation due to the marriage of the head of the family under the Special Marriage Act. A representation has been sent to your Department through the Chief Commissioner of Ajmer-Merwara.

As Mr. Khandekar is old and has not any other means of support, his representation deserves immediate consideration. Could you expedite disposal?

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,

To/
Sjt:

To/
Sjt: V. Shankar, I.C.S.,
Private Secretary to the
Hon'ble Minister for Home Affairs,
New Delhi.

H. J. Khandekar. M. L. A.
Member, Constituent Assembly.
President, All India
Depressed Classes League.

DHANTOLY. NAGPUR.

Date 18th August 1948.

42

Dear Sardarji,

I understand that the question of appointment of Parliamentary Secretaries at the Central Govt. is at present engaging your attention. In this connection I take the opportunity to remind you of the resolution passed by the All India Depressed Classes League wherein ~~the~~ it had requested for inclusion of 3 Harijans ~~in the~~ when appointment of new ministers was under consideration. You were good enough to include two Harijans at the time. The Harijans have all along fought shoulder to shoulder with the Congress against the British Govt. The All India Depressed Classes League has the largest number of Harijans under its fold and nearly all the Harijan members in the ~~Centr~~ Dominion Parliament belong to this organisation. I have therefore to request you to kindly see that at least 3 Harijans are included while making the appointment of Parliamentary Secretaries.

Yours sincerely,

H.J. Khandekar

Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel,
Deputy Prime Minister
1 Aurangzeb Road, New Delhi

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Shri. L.S.Bhatkar,
Member, Constituent Assembly.

4, Constitution House,
New Delhi,
The 11th August, 1948.

Respected Sardar Sahib,

I had ventured to write to you a personal letter in the month of April last suggesting the name of Dr. P.S.Deshmukh for inclusion in the Central Cabinet. I felt confident that you would give my suggestion due consideration and I did not therefore want to bother you again. For the very same reason I did not also press for a reply.

It is said, however, that there is likelihood of further expansion of the Cabinet and I, therefore, very respectfully beg to remind you of my suggestion. I may be permitted to repeat that this would be an excellent choice in many ways and would give the backward Province of Central Provinces & Berar a well deserved representation.

Yours sincerely,
L Bhatkar

Honible Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel,
Deputy Prime Minister of India,
New Delhi.

My dear Sardarji

May I draw your kind attention to a matter of some public importance? It is the personnel of the Universities Commission about to be set up. Many of us think that it would be difficult to find as a member a scholar and savant of the type of Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji the famous historian of Indian Culture who has specialised in Sanskrit and Buddhist learning and education. The Indian point of view in Education, the indigeneous ideals and institutions which built up the abiding greatness of Indian thought should be represented by an expert on the Commission which should fully explore the possibilities of the Asrama type of schools in which Gandhiji so much believed and which Free India should not wipe out. Dr. Mookerji has also long experience of the working of modern Universities and of National Education in association with Sir Aurobindo Ghosh.

Trusting my suggestion will commend itself to you.

Yours sincerely,

Brajeshwar Prasad

Member, Constituent Assembly.

D.O.No.301-C

19, Windsor Place,
New Delhi,
11th June 1948.

45

My dear Vallabhbhaiji,

I do not like to intrude. We are all happy you are so much improved. Your convalescence has been delayed due to grave national responsibilities you must have to attend. May you recover soon and carry on your great work.

I intrude as I feel sore to read an U.P.I. message that Asaf Ali is to be Governor of Orissa and will succeed Dr.Katju. I am praying God that the news will prove a lie. The citybred Asaf Ali has no contact with rural India. He does not know what Orissa is nor does he know what poverty is in rural Orissa. His sophisticated city life has not taught him to know how people live on One Anna a day as rural Orissa lives. Rural Orissa loved Gandhiji and Gandhiji took the despoiled Orivas to his heart and always felt for us. Why don't you appoint a Gandhite like Dr. Prafulla Ghosh as Latsaheb. He will walk like a village and feel like a villager.

Asaf Ali's chaste Urdu-Persian nobody in Orissa will understand nor even myself. He must know a paddy stalk from a wheat stalk or grass and must feel in terms of the poor, which he will have to do if he be forced on Orissa as her Governor. The people are 98% Hindus, simple, God-fearing and abiding faith in Gandhiji's doctrines-Truth and Non-Violence, why we should be "modernised" through Asaf Ali, I cannot understand. I do hope a man of the people will be chosen as Governor of Orissa. He has uphill task. Dr.Katju is so intensely popular and he has shown the Oriyas that he belongs to the country and country side.

I have unburdened my soul. I fervently hope you will not condemn the Orivas to "Sophisticated rule" of Asaf Ali.

Again I apologise for the intrusion. All India comes to you in trouble, so I write this letter. Pray excuse intrusion.

With my warm, warm respects.

Yours Sincerely,

B. Das.
Member Constituent Assembly.

To,
The Hon'ble Sradar Vallabhbhai Patel,
Deputy Prime Minister,
Dehra Dun, (U.P.)

No. 1600/48.

46

TEL. ADDRESS:
"LOKASABHA"
टेलीफोन नं.
अहमदाबाद - ७२४६
दिल्ली - ४०३०७
मुंबई - ६०६२०

16, Maharashtra Society,
Ellis Bridge, Ahmedabad,
9th June 1948.

Dear Vallabhbhai,

There was a little point with reference to the merger of States and taking over ~~charge~~ of charge of State administrations by us. The Princes felt a bit uneasy that, while agreements were taken from them so far back as March, the written agreements to be passed in their favour by the Government of India have not yet been executed, in spite of their reminders and telegrams. The Princes were, therefore, considering as to whether they should request the State Department to postpone taking over of charge till agreements by the Government of India were executed. One can appreciate their nervousness. I have, however, advised Cambay who came to consult me as to what they should do in face of the general opinion of the Princes in Gujarat. I have unhesitatingly advised him not to worry about the agreement to be executed by the Government of India and to proceed according to the time table for handing over charge. The Advisers have also given the same advice and Cambay will hand over charge tomorrow.

I am enclosing a copy of my letter to the Nawab Saheb which will speak for itself. The matter of execution of formal agreements in favour of the States should however be expedited.

The marriage and incidental functions passed off well. It was indeed so good of you as well as of Maniben and Shankar to send a message of blessings.

I shall be going to Bochasan on the 14th-15th for the annual gathering of the Vidyalaya there. We are also having a gathering of students of National institutions. I shall be leaving on the 17th for Dhulia via Bombay. There are trust meetings there on the 19th and 20th. I shall thence go to Bombay on the 21st, and will be there till the 28th night as we

We have Kasturba Trust meetings on the 26th, 27th and 28th June, and I have to meet Shri Thakkar Bapa, Shrimati Sushila Pai and Shri Shyamlal in connection with Kasturba Trust work on the 24th and 25th. I shall go to Poona if possible just for a day.

We are all well and wish you the same. I hope you are taking the required rest. Frankly speaking, I feel nervous, and doubt whether you are really taking the needed rest. I am afraid the various headaches in the country are compelling you to disregard your health, though I am hoping that Mani will not permit it.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

Jawaharlal

Enc: 1.

Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel,
Dehradun.

Copy

No. 1598/48.

47

"Seva Kutir",
16, Maharashtra Society,
Ellis Bridge, Ahmedabad,
9th June 1948.

Your Highness,

Shri Sagunlal saw me last night in connection with the attitude which the Cambay State and Your Highness should take as regards handing over of charge tomorrow, in view of the fact that the State Department has not yet sent the agreement in writing notwithstanding reminders, and in view of the general desire of Gujarat Princes to have the agreement in writing from the Government of India, before they hand over charge.

I think the advice tendered to you by your Dewan Saheb and other officers is a correct one, and I must congratulate you on the decision to hand over without waiting for a written agreement duly signed on behalf of the Government of India.

Personally I do not feel that the delay in sending to you the Govt of India agreement means anything serious. To my mind it cannot mean any intention on their part to resile from anything that has been promised. The delay is probably due to the fact that the State Department has a number of preoccupations in the very difficult situation in the country, and particularly with reference to Hyderabad. Further, the Sardar Saheb is not well and must take rest, and Mr Menon has also to spend a larger time in going over to different places for consultation. There is no reason to doubt their bona-fides, and I am sure you will get the agreement as stipulated.

I therefore appreciate very much the spirit of confidence and goodwill which yourself and your advisers have shown and wish you all well.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

H.H. the Nawab Saheb of Cambay

TEL: 2987

CONGRESS PARTY
CENTRAL LEGISLATURE

LEADER: JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

No. Con/As/ 46

24, COUNCIL HOUSE.
NEW DELHI.

June 4, 1948.

My dear Sardar Sahib,

You are no doubt aware that assurances were given and statements made on the floor of the House during the last Budget Session regarding further action to be taken by the Ministers on various matters.

In view of the fact that proceedings of the Constituent Assembly (Legislative) have not yet been made available and as there is no other arrangement for inviting the attention of the Ministers, I am sending a list of important statements and assurances concerning your Ministry made in February, 1948 and I shall be glad to know as to what further action, if any, has been taken in regard to those matters.

Thanking you.

Yours sincerely,

Mohanlal Saksena

(Mohanlal Saksena)

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai J. Patel;
Minister in charge of Home Affairs,
NEW DELHI.

Forwarding letter & enclosed relevant extracts & Ministry concerned for advice. V.P. 6/6

PA. Copies sent to Secretaries for info. 6/6

THE HOME MINISTER

9.2.48.

Regarding the report received from the Diwan of Jaisalmar State, about the burning of houses, looting, arson, ~~and~~ abduction etc., the Home Minister said that the Government had already lodged a strong protest with the Pakistan Govt. and that they were waiting for a reply from the latter.

He stated that instructions had already been issued that unqualified persons in the Government of India Secretariat should be replaced by qualified persons as soon as possible.

19.2.48.

1. The Home Minister said that the Government proposed to introduce a Bill shortly for the amendment of the Cinematograph Act in order to restrict the exhibition of ~~films~~ not considered suitable for children and adolescents.

2. Regarding the recruitment of judges, the Home Minister replied that it was made not purely on merits, but on communal and other considerations.

He admitted that the standard had to a certain extent deteriorated. (A recent Govt. communique states that communal distinction would not be made in the recruitment of central services).

Tele. Address :—
"PRELEGAS."

50

No.D./006/48.
20, Akbar Road,
New Delhi, the 7th April,
1948.

Dear Vallabhbhai,

I have the pleasure to forward herewith a letter of request from the Managing Editor of a new periodical styled "Fauzi Talim" which is intended to be started from June, 1948, as the mouthpiece of the Ahmedabad Military and Rifle Training Association. The leaflet accompanying it will give you an idea about the scope and the nature of the proposed Magazine.

The Association was first started in 1938, and I am its President from the inception. It has extended its activities to various branches of sports and its work will be very much appreciated now that the Government have accepted the policy of enroling youngmen and training them for national defence. I shall be grateful if you could comply with the request of the Editor for a small Message for the First Number.

I/

I am leaving this for Ahmedabad on the 12th. If the Message could be sent before that it may be sent to my Delhi address, otherwise to my Ahmedabad address (16, Maharashtra Society, Ellis Bridge).

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,

Jawaharlal Nehru

To/

The Hon'ble
Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel,
Home Minister to the Government of India,
New Delhi.

Enclo: Two.

Fauzi Talim

51

(The Ahmedabad Military & Rifle Training Association)
Gun House, Relief Road, AHMEDABAD

President
Hon'ble G. V. MAVLANKER B. A., LL. B.
President, Constituent Assembly (Legislative)

Advisory Board
CHHOTUBHAI PURANI M. A.
G. M. JADHAV

Editorial Board
D. M. GOLE B. A. (London)
K. T. DESAI B. A.
CHIMUBHAI P SHAH B. A.
K. C. SHAH

Managing Editor
K. G. PRABHU

Ref no F/55

Date 29th March 1948

Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel,
Deputy Prime Minister,
Dominion of India,
NEW DELHI.

Dear Sir,

I enclose herewith a small brochure indicating the scope and aims of a new magazine "Fauzi Talim" which is proposed to be brought out from Ahmedabad from June 1948.

As you will notice from the contents of the enclosure, this is a novel attempt tobring the general public and the fighting forces closer together,

You will I hope, agree that such an attempt cannot succeed without actual cooperation of the public. I am therefore taking the liberty of requesting you to help this effort by contributing an article every now and again on any of the six topics in the brochure.

The President and the editorial board rightly think that such an attempt cannot succeed except with the good-will of the general public and blessings from man like you, and

I have been asked by them to approach you for a suitable message with which to start the magazine.

Myself and the Board are full conscious of the load of work that you are carrying but I hope you will be kind enough to take time off from your numerous activities to send us a small message of greetings and encouragement.

Yours faithfully,

K. G. Prabhu

B. Managing Editor.

II Physical Education and Sports.

principles, aims and objectives of physical education, objectives in equipment and staff, psychology of physical education, standard of judging physical education; all games like hockey, football, boxing, weight-lifting, cycling, skating, hututu and all other Indian minor and major games.

III Inspiring Stories, Biographies :

adventurous stories, hunt stories, jungle stories, inspiring biographies, stories of efforts of nation building activities, unusual war incidents of bravery.

IV Different kinds of student or youth organisations in different countries :

their organisation, how to start them and their administration;
science club movement of America, aeronautics;
organisation of a school as a cell.

V Notes & Events :

VI Gujerat and Military Education.

DATA

Size : Crown 1/8 Pages 24

Subscription : Rs. 9/– per year;
as. 12/– per single copy.

ADVERTISING

Full Page	: Rs. 50/–
Half ,,	: Rs. 30/–
Quarter ,,	: Rs. 16/–
2nd & 3rd Title Full Page	: Rs. 100/–
Last Title Page	: Rs. 125/–
Page opposite 2nd Title	: Rs. 75/–

DETAILS

1 Full page print area is 8"×6"

2 Half page ,, ,, is 8"×3" or 4"×6"

3 Quarter page ,, ,, is 4"×3"

4 No advertisement is incorporated in the reading matter.

FAUZI TALIM

52

A new activity of the Ahmedabad Military & Rifle Training Association.

TWO OPINIONS:

"A monthly for every Indian who is a born defender of India."

"A leading illustrated Indian monthly of today for the citizens of tomorrow."

Gun House, Dandavala Building,
Relief Road : AHMEDABAD.

Introducing Ourselves:

The Ahmedabad Military and Rifle Training Association is entering into a new field of activity by announcing the publication under its auspices, of a new magazine called 'Fauzi Talim' from June 1948. The magazine will be published every month under the guidance of an Editorial Board consisting of men familiar with the army and having definite ideas on the relation between a free people and their fighting forces.

These ideas could be summed up briefly as follows:—

1. The three branches of our fighting forces are the spearhead of national defence and security and should inspire the public with confidence in their ability to do so and evoke the people's loyal support to various defence schemes emanating from the Defence Ministry.

2. To achieve this end, the people must become familiar with our Army, Navy and Air force, their organisation, activities and control. A free India must bridge the gulf between the people and their fighting forces.

3. To do so the people must know what our fighting forces are and they in their turn should know what the people think of them and expect of them.

"Fauzi Talim" hopes to do this and also to inculcate in the people habits of discipline, collective action, resourcefulness, self-confidence, etc.

MAIN FEATURES

1 **Military Science and Education :**

aims, objects, compulsory military training in different countries and its various methods and forms; military histories and expeditions.

2 **War :**

nature of war, principles of war, objects in war, strategy and tactics, modern warfare, guerilla warfare.

3 **Our Fighting Forces :**

their organisation and administration, training, activities, etc.

4 **Defence of India :**

general physical features and climate of India, historical survey-political divisions, constitution and government, resources communications, defence forces.

5 **Weapons :**

evolution of weapons and modern weapons of warfare.

6 **Military Training :**

drill, weapon training, manoeuvres, etc.

Confidential

53

NEW DELHI, the 30th March 1948.

Dear Mr. Saksena,

Sardar has seen your letter dated the 24th March 1948.

The policy in regard to the arrests and progressive releases of members of the R.S.S. has been stated in clear terms by Shri N.V.Gadgil on the floor of the House. Since then, effect is being given to that policy and releases are being made both in Centrally Administered Areas and the Provinces. Sardar hopes that after full effect has been given to the orders regarding releases, there would be little chance, if any, of there being in custody any person whose continued detention is not in public interests.

Regarding the particular instance mentioned by you, Sardar is having confidential enquiries made.

As regards the general points raised by you, Sardar feels that an adequate reply has already been given by Shri N.V.Gadgil and he has nothing further to add. He hopes, however, that as soon as he is well enough he would be able to give to this problem some further thought and take appropriate decision.

Yours sincerely,

(V.SHANKAR)

Professor Shitban Lal Saksena, MLA.,
13-E, Ferozshah Road,
New Delhi.

54

13E, Pharoghah Road,
New Delhi.
24.3.48

My dear Sardar Sahib,

Jai Hind.

Your serious illness in this national crisis is a calamity. How we all pray for your speedy recovery. May God give you strength & health to serve the nation for long years to come.

I am so happy to learn you are recovering. But I would not like to put you to any strain at the moment. Still, there is one thing which if not checked with a strong hand, will cause serious injury to our Govt. & our party.

We all agreed to the banning of the R.S.S. after Bapu's tragic assassination. But I had not hoped that a regular reign of terror would follow the ban.

I wish you to realise the situation today. During the last one week even under your very nose in Delhi, young men have been arrested while playing football and doing Harikirtan on the charge that they were holding R.S.S. meetings in this manner. The people of the football club whose players had been arrested came to me & showed me that theirs was a bona fide football club. I am shocked at this state of

(over)

affairs. Will Hindu young men be stopped from playing even football henceforth under our Free India Govt? I say such utter suppression of Civil Liberties will destroy the Congress we have built with such tremendous sacrifice. The other day, probably on Monday the 22nd March, some one hundred women came to the Assembly and protested agst. the arrest of their innocent sons to Jawaharlalji. It was a shocking sight. Where must these poor women go & how should they prove the innocence of their sons? You will not put them on trial, they are too ~~poor~~ poor, perhaps have too strong a sense of self respect to obtain release on apology or to secure release by bribing the police. I want to tell you an information which I think is most reliable that this ban on the R.S.S. has come in as a windfall to the police who are extorting money from all & sundry by threatening them with having R.S.S. sympathies, & a strong reaction is developing in the public mind agst. the Congress Govts. I definitely think on the information recd. from reliable sources, that S.H.O. Chowdhry Ramdutt of Qazi Hoz is corrupt & I would request you to order a confidential C.I.D. inquiry in at least two cases. I am told one Hari Ram of the firm Hari Ram Jagannath was arrested because he had paid a subscription of Rs. 500 to the R.S.S. at some time. When the police proceeded with him to the police station, his tenant in the lower storey Shri Bishan chand & his son, Padam chand, accompanied him to the police stn. On reaching the Qazi Hoz police stn., Chowdhry Ramdutt also detained them. My information is that the police has released them after extorting Rs. 20,000 from Hari Ram & Rs. 5000 from Bishnu chand & his son Padam chand. If you institute C.I.D. inquiries

of a most Confidential nature, truth will come out. But people are very much afraid & evidence can be collected only Confidentially.

So the net result is that the public is making money right & left, the rich have the means to secure their release, but the innocent poor have no method to prove their innocence.

I hope you will now assert yourselves, & stop this riot. For God's sake, order a release of all arrested persons & try those agst. whom there is evidence. Let it not be said that the Congress exploited the murder of Mahatma Gandhi to strike down its opponents & the real method to Convert the R.S.S. [the method you advocated in your luckless speech of psychology] is not jail & torture but by adopting a stronger attitude towards Pakistan, & making some quick plan for the Rehabilitation of Refugees & settling it permanently. Otherwise feelings will become still more bitter agst. the Govt.

I once more urge upon you to end this terrorism, for otherwise Congress will die. We did not force the gallows for bringing this kind of Freedom.

Praying for your quick recovery, Yours [illegible],

P.T.O. Shibbanlal Saksena

N.B. To strengthen your hands, I am putting some Shortnotice & some starred Questions. I hope you will allow them to be answered, & the information demanded in them supplied.

Shibbanlal
Saksena
26.3.48

56

STARRED QUESTIONS for answer by the Hon'ble the Home Minister on 8.4.48.

1. It is alleged that the R.S.S. organisation preached the cult of violence and indulged in acts ~~of~~ involving arson, deceity, murder, and collected illicit arms and ammunition. Will the Government, therefore, state :

a) How many R.S.S. offices have so far been searched in the province of Delhi and other centrally administered areas as well as the various provinces and states; and in how many of them arms and ammunitions etc., have been found.

b) What is the nature and quantity of these arms?

c) Have the Government during these searches found any documents, publications or notifications issued by this organisation preaching the cult of violence and hatred? If so, will the Government kindly lay on the table of the House, copies of at least some of the most objectionable amongst them?

2.(a) Did the Central Government or any of the Provincial or State Governments order any judicial enquiry to be made into these serious allegations made against the R.S.S. organisation? If so, what were the findings of such judicial enquiry and will the Government lay on the table of the House, a copy of these findings? I

b) In case no judicial enquiry has so far been made, will the Government publish the evidence, they have in their possession, against this organisation in the form of a charge-sheet to justify the continuance of the ban against this organisation and the continued detention of thousands of its members?

3.(a) In view of the statement by Shri M. S. Golwalker "Sar-Sangh-Chalak" of the R.S.S. that he refuted all the charges brought against the R.S.S. as baseless, will the Government put him on trial and enable him to meet the charges brought ~~again~~ against him and his organisation in a Court of Law?

b) Will Government inform the House whether the R.S.S. leaders and workers who have been arrested and detained, have been apprised of the grounds of their detentions, and whether any opportunity have been afforded to them to reply to the charges against them?

56

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5

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2.(a) Did the Central Government or any of the Provincial or State Governments order any judicial enquiry to be made into these serious allegations made against the R.S.S. organisation? If so, what were the findings of such judicial enquiry and will the Government lay on the table of the House, a copy of these findings? I

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b) Will Government inform the House whether the R.S.S. leaders and workers who have been arrested and detained, have been apprised of the grounds of their detentions, and whether any opportunity have been afforded to them to reply to the charges against them?

57

If not, will the Government consider the desirability of doing so now?

c) What is the total number of arrests of R.S.S. men so far made in the whole of India since 30th January, 1948, province-wise and state-wise? How many of them have been released and how many of them are still in detention, How long do the Government propose to keep these men in detention without trial? What treatment is given to the R.S.S. men in Jail? How many of them have been placed in A, B, & C class respectively? If any special class treatment is given to these men will the Government lay on the table of the House the rules governing this special class of treatment in Jail and pointing out the difference between the special class treatment and the treatment of ordinary C class convicts.

4.(a) What do Government mean by "private armies" and in what particular respects the R.S.S., the Akali Dal and the Congress Seva Dal come within its purview?

b) Are the Government aware, that ever since the ban on the R.S.S. was placed by the Government even physical drill by youngmen is disallowed and stopped and innocent people harassed for doing so?

Is it the policy of the Government to forbid Indian youth from doing physical exercises and drills at their pleasure?

5. Has the Government seen the report published in The Hindustan Times dated 17th March, 1948, stating that 21 persons were arrested in ~~xxx~~ Subzimandi on Monday the 15th March, 1948, while playing a football match on the allegation that they were holding an R.S.S. meeting while playing the football match?

Is it the Government's policy that henceforth even playing of football and participation in out-door games by Indian youths will be forbidden and treated as an illegal activity?

Shibbanlal Saksena
26.3.48

-SHORT-NOTICE QUESTION to be answered by the Hon'ble the Home Minister.

1(a) Have the Government seen the report published in The Hindustan Times dated 17th March, 1948, stating that 21 persons were arrested while playing a football match in Subzimandi on Monday the 15th March, 1948, on the plea that a regular R.S.S. meeting was being held in the form of playing a football match?

b) How many of these 21 arrested persons are still under detention and how many have been released?

c) Since when has the Government declared the playing of football and other out-door games in Delhi an illegal activity? If no such declaration has been made, will the Government explain why these men were arrested while playing a football match and does the Government realise that such a over-zealousness on the part of the authorities is liable to terrorise people and to stop youngmen even from engaging themselves in healthy outdoor games for fear of being dubbed as being engaged in R.S.S. activities?

d) Does the Government realise that the authorities committed a blunder by arresting these men while playing a football match and will it punish those overzealous authorities for thus destroying all civil liberties and exposing the Government to ridicule and contempt?

e) Will the Government order the immediate release of these persons arrested if they are still detained?

2.(a) Has the Government seen a press report published in papers that 56 persons were arrested while engaged in a Hari Kirtan in Gauri Shanker Temple in Bagichi Madho Das near Red Fort, Delhi, on 16th March, 1948, on the plea that they were holding an R.S.S. meeting while engaged in Hari Kirtan? Is this report true?

b) In case, the report is true, will the Government state whether Hari Kirtan has been declared an illegal activity in the city of Delhi?

c) Is it a fact that a deputation of about 200 ladies gathered outside the Assembly Chamber protesting against the arrests of their innocent children and asked the Prime Minister to release them forthwith?

d) How many of these persons have been released so far and how many of them are still under detention? When do the Government propose to release these who are still under detention?

e) Does the Government realise that such over-zealousness on the part of the authorities in Delhi has made all civil-liberties in Delhi a mockery and will the Government punish the officials who have been responsible for such over-zealousness and interference with the most ordinary fundamental rights and civil liberties of the people?

Shibbanlal Saksena

26.3.48

Tele. Address :—
"PARLIGAR."

PERSONAL.

151, Constitution House,
New Delhi, the 11th December, 1947.

59

No.D.2169/47.

My dear Shankar,

I send to you herewith two sets of papers:

(i) A copy of representation from one Sjt: Kantilal Vadilal Parikh, resident of Sadra, but at present residing at Bombay requesting the location of Headquarters of Mahikanth Region under Western India and Gujarat States Region at Sadra, which was the Headquarters till now.

It is proposed, as the rumour goes, to have Dabhoda as the Headquarter. Unless there are special reasons, I do not see why Government are thinking of a change. In the absence of any information I would support the claim of Sadra. I have spoken about this to Sardar yesterday, but he does not remember to have had any representation. I am, therefore, sending herewith a copy, which has been given me. I have seen Sadra having visited it several times during the course of my profession in civil matters with the Political Agent there.

(ii) A bundle of papers relating to the Panth Piploda State. These copies are sent to me by the Jagirdar there.

I had already some talk with you a few months' back. I am personally inclined to agree with you that it would not be fair to disturb a particular set-up which is going on for the last 70 years. The Jagirdar is a relation of my friend Sardar Kibe of Indore, who is insistent that the case should be examined by your Department, and hence I am sending the papers for such disposal as you think fit. You can now mention the matters to Sardar as you think fit. I do not wish to take any of his time.

V.

I am leaving this for Ahmedabad on the 14th morning by Air.

Yours sincerely,

(G.V.Mavalankar).

To/

V.Shankar,Esqr.,I.C.S.,
Private Secretary to the Hon'ble the
Home Minister, Government of India,
New Delhi.

PANTH PIPLODA

Panth Piploda is a petty Estate comprising now ten and a half villages(one of them being recently populated), held directly under the British Indian Government in the Malwa Political Agency in Central India.

EARLY HISTORY

2. After the conquest of Malwa by the Marathas, the province was partitioned out in about 1732 by the Peshva, mostly amongst Scindia, Holkar and the Pavars of Dhar and Dewas. With several other Parganahs assigned in Saranjam to the Pavar of Dhar, the two sister Paraganahs of Tal and Mandaval, which had during the preceeding Muslim Rule been included in the then Subah of Mandsaur,went to the share of Dhar.

3. When the battle of Panipat was fought Gopal Sambhaji,the founder of the Khandekar Family was the minister of the Pavar of Dhar,but being appointed by the Peshva,worked as a Resident or a Political Agent on behalf of that authority at Dhar.

4. Gopal Sambhaji, like his elder brother Ganesh Sambhaji,hailed from the village Burumbad,situated in the Sangameshwar Taluq of the Ratnagiri Collectorate in in the Konkan. From a very long time the Khandekar Family had held hereditarily the office of Kulkarni of Burumbad, Makhjan and three other villages from the ancient and celebrated house of the Mavalankar Sardesais. Gopal Sambhaji in 1771 obtained from Shah Alam # I FARMANS for the Kulkarni Office in Burumbad and Makhjan.

5. Both he and Ganesh Sambhaji had occupied high and responsible positions in the Maratha Empire from the times of the Peshva Balaji Bajirav. A sketch of the career of Ganesh Sambhaji contributed by the writer of this narrative appears in the proceedings of the Indian Historical Congress Sessions at Allahabad,1938,and one of the career of Gopal Sambhaji in the proceedings of the Session at Calcutta,1939. Vasudev Sambhaji the younger brother of Gopal Sambhaji had also had a distinguished career under Holkar and a summary of a sketch of it appears in the proceedings of the Session at Hyderabad(Deccan) 1941.Vasudev

Vasudev Sambhaji obtained an Imperial Farman in 1771 regarding a tract of lands and the Patilki rights in half the village of Dahipuri, in Taluq Ambed in the Aurangabad District, now forming a part of the Nizam's Dominions.

6. In 1763 the Peshwa appointed Gopal Sambhaji to the Kamavis of the Paraganah of Mandaval, and by a letter addressed on the 30th October to Kedarji and Mahadji Scindias committed the interests of new Kamavisdar to their care. Indeed they were specially asked to render every kind of help, including the dispatch of a body of horse and foot for the establishment of his authority. As usual in those days Gopal Sambhaji exercised full civil and military control in the territory committed to his charge.

7. In 1765 the TAPPAH of Piploda, as the Panth Piploda Estate had been known prior to the advent of the British Supremacy in Malwa, was granted by the Peshwa Madhavarav I to Gopal Sambhaji as a Saranjam by a Sanad, which shows that the revenue of all villages contained in it amounted to Rs.10,1011. The prefix Panth(a road) came to be added to the name of the QASBAH(town) Piploda towards the beginning of the 19th century, to distinguish the place from some others of the same name in the neighbourhood, and denotes its situation on the old track leading to Rajputana.

It is very likely that Gopal Sambhaji, when in charge of the Kamavis of the Mandaval Parganah, took a liking for the Tappah of Piploda, and as may be seen from the terms of the Sanad regarding the Saranjam of the territory, the Peshwa conferred it on him because he had specially requested for it. The Tappah then consisted of nine villages and a half.

8. The Gadhi of the Khandekars which occupies a central and elevated position at Panth Piploda, was originally built by Gopal Sambhaji, and is held by them.

9. The temple of Shri Mahadev in the village and the Ghat on the bank of the brook running close by, were built by his grandsons - Haro Dhondev and Vasudev Janardan.

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10. Gopal Sambhaji, at the outset managed the Estate directly in all respects, including the management of the land revenue. Later on he leased out some of the villages to other parties. Subsequently during the time of his two sons, the villages were farmed out on lease to the ancestors of the present Thakurs, who had, since the preceding Moghul regime been the Zamindars of the entire Paraganah of Mandaval, as they still continue to hold that hereditary position in the present remaining portion of the Paraganah (excluding the villages comprising the Panth Piploda Estate). The Khandekars [illegible] increased the land revenue which amounted to R.11,142-8-0 in the local (Ujjain) Mali Coin. They also levied some BABTIS or cesses which amounted to R.622-11-0 in the Salim shahi coin.

11. Between 1798 and 1806 when the Peshva's Government had become weak, Anandrav Pavar of Dhar forcibly seized Tappah Piploda from the Khandekars. From 1807 to 1809 Yeshvantrav Holkar had the forcible possession of both the sister Paraganahs of Tal and Mandaval including the Tappah of Piploda. Daulatrav Shinde, who, like Mahadji, took interest in the Khandekars, came to their rescue and wrote to the Pavar and Holkar, for instance in his letters respectively of the 10th July 1800 and the 24th Shavval for the restoration of the Tappah. He also commanded the high officers in his forces, viz Colonel Hira Singh and Vaman Khanderav in letters respectively dated the 25th November 1805 and the 19th June 1806 to secure the object in view, if necessary by sending out sufficient horse and foot to the spot. And as might be expected the Tappah was restored. Vithal Mahadev Kibe, alias Tatya Jog, as the Holkar's Minister was popularly called, rendered very effective help in the restoration from the Holkar, who had invaded the Tappah last. Yeshvantrav notified the fact of the restoration in an order issued on the 12th August 1809 to * the Zamindars of the * Estate.

12. The time between 1726 and 1817 is emphatically called by Sir John Malcolm, " the period of trouble " during which strife and commotion reigned supreme and might was right in Malwa(Vide page 89 of his Report on Malwa). At this time the Pavar of Dhar lost the Paraganahs of Tal and Mandaval exclusive of Tappah Piploda,to the superior forces of Holkar,who eventually bestowed them on his military lieutenant Ghaffur Khan,who later on founded the Mohamedan State of Jaora as the Nawab of it.

It will be seen that the Khandekars not only acquired the Estate but also saved it from usurpations by Dhar and Holkar.

DEVELOPMENTS DURING THE BRITISH REGIME.

13. By article 14 of the Treaty of 1817 between the Peshwa and the British, the latter succeeded to the rights of the former in Malwa and Panth Piploda became and continues to be a British territory. About this time the villages of the Estate were leased out to the ancestors of the Thakurs, the leases being,however,in no sense a permanent settlement.

14. In 1820 Captain Borthwick, the local Political Agent reported the circumstances of the Estate to Sir John Malcolm,and stated that " The Tribute/ " paid by the Zamindars to the Khandekars amounted to Rs.11761. The Khandekars did not renew the leases nor made any alternations in the sum.

15. On the 8th June 1821, Sir John Malcolm issued a / SANAD in English to Naro Dhonddev and Vasudev Janardan,regarding the confirmation by the British Indian Government of the Peshwa's grant in which he referred to the income received by them from the Estate as "Tribute", but did not specify any amount of it. Whenever that officer meant that specific amounts were granted he invariably took care to mention them in the Sanads issued by him.Captain Borthwick, in the Marathi Sanad,which he addressed to the Khandekars on the 14th June1821 assured them that they would continue to be —— "Jagirdars of the Hon'ble English Company's Government" as they had been formerly of the Peshwa's. In an order issued in Hindi on the

same day " to the Zamindars,Patels and others concerned " of the Estate he notified that the old Jagir consisting of Piploda and other villages ——— had been " confirmed" in Jagir "on" the Khandekars to whom it " belonged and that they"should recognise them as the Jagirdars of the Hon'ble English Company's Government and act towards them submissively without any disputes and any improper obstructions and pay them the revenue as it" had " been done from old times."

16. In 1868 Vasudev Janardan died and Colonel Meade, the Agent to Governor General in Central India in reporting to the Government, (vide No.171 dated the 28th September 1868)for the recognition of his son's succession,inquired if a Nazarana would be levied on the occasion.Subsequently he had a doubt as to the actual status of the Khandekars in the Jagir and wired to the Government to postpone their decision, and instituted an inquiry, in the course of which both the Khandekars and the Thakurs were required to substantiate their existing rights.Both the parties submitted their statements with connected papers.Colonel Daby,who had succeeded Colonel Meadet did not carefully study the case and was confused by the conflicting statements made by the two rival parties.Replying on Captain Borthwick's report in 1821 to Sir John Malcolm he made a capital of the figure of Rs.11761/- mentioned in it and in his report No.175 dated the 14th May 1869, in which he suppressed the documentary evidence submitted by the Khandekars, suggested that the Khandekars were entitled only to that amount,that they were mere Tankedars, that the Thakurs were the proprietors of the soil in the Estate, that the Thakurs should pay the Nazarana on successions and that they should " be held responsible for the peace in" the territory.

Doubtless till 1870 the Khandekars had enjoyed the rights of administration as regards(1) Revenue(2) Opium(3) Forest(4) Boundary settlement(5) Public works (6) Civil and Criminal Jurisdiction, (7) Arrangement for the dispatch of the Imperial Post etc.etc.,

17. The Government on the one-sided report from their highest local Political Officer,upheld his main recommendations in their decision no No.179-295 P dated the 16th February 1870 but held that the

succession Nazarana should be levied from the Khandekars and also observed that they had therefore " left the administration " of the territory "into" their(the Khandekars') " hands " (vide para 5). The Government doubtless referred to the Khandekars once as the " Maratha Jagirdars ",(Para 3) and once as " the Jagirdars " (Para 5).

Contrary to the Governments decision the local Political Officers have called the Khandekars " The Tankedars of Panth Piploda ".

The connection which the Thakurs had held till 1870 in the Estate,exclusive of the Zamindari rights,had been due to their holding the leases granted by the Khandekars.

18. Towards 1866 Colonel Daly was the Political Agent in Western Malwa and he very kindly maintained some notable rights belonging to the Khandekars as against the Thakurs and passed clear orders in the matter. He bore an official testimony to his confidence in the administration carried on by the Khandekars.But when he took over charge of the office of the Agent to the Governor General he represented Sardar Gopal Rav Narayan, the then representative of the Senior Branch of the family, to be"a weak man in the hands of designing people" as against his own past official testimony and also against the good opinion of Colonel Sandys, a former Political Agent.

19. Colonel Prebyns, the then Political Agent,in the Administration report on the Western Malwa Agency in 1871, observed that "their(The Khandekars) fall has been a great one and hard to bear ——— that formerly they(The Khandekars) were the Jagirdars and their" (The Thakurs') " Superiors ".

20. Presumably the Thakurs hold no formal Sanad either from the Peshwa or the British Government and it would be interesting to determine if by the reference in the Government's decision in 1870 to the proprietorship and the connected jurisdictionary rights in favour of that party,as also the pratice observed since the settled state of things following the mutiny of 1857, of recognising the lineal successions of their descendents,would entitle them

to be practically more fortunate than the Zamindars of Bengal under Lord Cornwallis's Permanent Settlement.

21. In 1921 the Political Agent discovered that the Thakurs had not managed the Estate properly and with the sanction of the Government of India, a Manager has been appointed to look after the administration. The necessary expenditure for the administrative machinery has been deducted from the revenue, as also the amount paid to the Khandekars.

22. The Political Agent got forcibly removed the Flag which as an emblem of the past Maratha regime, had flown in the Gadhi throughout the residence of the Khandekars in it, since they acquired the place.

23. He also confiscated all the Zarat Lands and a garden, which the family had set apart from the time they managed the villages directly, for their cultivation at Panth Piploda and three neighbouring villages of the Estate, for the production of the foodstuffs, for their kitchen. This was done, obviously, in the interests of the Thakurs, who had, however, not claimed the tracts. These had continued to be enjoyed by the Khandekars even after the decision of the Government of India in 1870. In 1949 a former Political Agent had divided these lands and the Gadhi in equal proportions among the two branches of the family, and the decision regarding the division bearing his signature, still exists in the family records. The fact of nearly 94 years' actual physical possession during the British regime alone was ignored.

24. Towards the close of the 19th century the British Indian Coin was introduced in the Estate. The Khandekars, however, continued to receive their income from the revenue of the Estate in the two old local currencies for a long time. This put them to a severe loss and they represented the matter to the authorities with the result that a good deal of the loss was made up but not to the extent that is just. The Estate is a part of British India and the Khandekars should have been and should be paid at the same rate of exchange at which the land revenue has been converted into the British Indian Coin.

25. The Manager is subordinate directly to the Collector of Panth Piploda(Political Agent in Malwa) who exercises the powers of the District and Sessions Judge in the Estate. That Officer is subordinate to the Hon'ble The Chief Commissioner of Panth Piploda(The Resident in Central India) who constitutes the High Court for the Estate.

26. These two local high officers do not receive any pay for the supervision of the administration which involves considerable attention and responsibility for the sake of a very small territorial unit,comprising the area of 25.29 Sq.Miles,with a population of nearly 4500 souls(of which the predominant majority is the Hindus) and the revenue about Rs.57,700/-. About the year 1933 they probably influenced the Government of India for the merger of this unit into some neighbouring state.The Khandekars having come to know of this move represented to the authorities not to carry out this project,but if it was to be carried out,to transfer the Estate to Gwalior. The village Mokadi of Paraganah Khachrod of this state has a conterminous boundary with the village Ghapaner belonging to the Estate.Gwalior,however,had severed its connection with the Central India Agency and probably for this reason the Resident in Central India proposed to the Imperial Government to hand over the administration of the Estate to the Indore Darbar which however,has no boundary connections whatever with the Estate. Theproposal of the Resident was almost sanctioned.A plebiscite however,taken by the Collector in the villages went against the scheme.Finally in view of the fact that the Estate had been made a Chief Commissionership in the Government of India Act of 1935 the scheme was dropped.It is now understood that it is contemplated to merge the Estate in the Jaora State,part of which encircles the villages of the Estate.

THE PRESENT CONSTITUTIONAL SITUATION

(1) Notifications No.555-1 dated the 15th October 1928 The Gazette of India Ab.42 of 28th October 1928 page 931 Foreign and Political Department,

27. In exercise of the powers conferred by sub Section(4) of Section 71 of the Government of India Act, the Secretary of State in Council at a meeting held on the 12th September 1928 applied the provisions of "that Section to " the Panth Piploda Estate.(1)

" In exercise of the powers conferred by Section 59 of the Government of India Act the Governor-General in Council with the approval of the Secretary of State for India" by a proclamation issued took the Estate "from the 1st November 1928" under his immediate authority and management and formed it "into a Chief Commissionership". "The Agent to the Governor General in Central India" was appointed to be the Chief Commissioner of " the Estate" from that date " and declared to be " the Local Government for the purpose of all enactments in force therein(2)

(2) Notification No.555-1-Ibid

"In exercise of the powers conferred by sub Section(2) of Section 52A of the Government of India Act The Governor General in Council declared "the Estate to be a " backward Tract " and with the sanction of His Majesty "signified by the Secretary of State in Council" directed "that the said Act and its application to the "Estate" shall be subject to the following exceptions and modifications viz "The provisions of the Government of India Act which confer powers on the Indian Legislature to make laws for British India shall not apply to the said territory"(3).

(3) Notification No. 555-1-Ibid

(4) Report of the Commission Vol.II chapter 2 para 128 page 109

28. According to a suggestion from the Indian Statutory Commission such "backward tracts " are known to be "excluded areas" in respect of the population of which the commission observes "their contentment" depends " on experienced and sympathetic handling .... " (4)

29. Since the Central Government directly took over the supervision of the numerous states for which formerly the Provincial Administrations had been responsible The "Agents to the Governor General" have been called "Residents" The Viceroy as the Crown's Representative(and not in his capacity as the Governor General) looks after the welfare of the states. The Estate is mentioned in the Government of India Act of 1935 as a Chief Commissionership.

The Khanderao had very nice and commodious houses in the Garhi which were provided with almost all conveniences necessary for their domestic wants.

3 In 1869 the Agent to the Governor-General, in his report No.No.284 dated the 18th November, to the Government of India, referred to the residence of the late Sardar Gopal Rao Vinayak Khanderao ch Panth Piploda where he died at a ripe age. In the Kirtan which followed the funeral, the village folk of Panth Piploda as also the neighbouring Gudbheli were given a sumptuous dinner. Most of the Sardar's children, both male and female, were born and brought up a good deal at the same place. His grandsons, the late Mr.Anand Rav, Chiranjiva Maj. Kailash Chandra Rav and Chiranjiva Anant Rav were born and brought up a good deal there, their investitures with the sacred thread as well as that of the late Shankar Rav being celebrated with great rejoicings, in the Garhi. At the time of the Mundaran ceremonies of the late Sardar Thonia Gopal and Maj. Kailashchandra Rav, and the functions of the investiture with the sacred thread alluded to all the people of Panth Piploda and Gudbheli dined in the Garhi. The wife of the writer also died at Panth Piploda. She was the only daughter of the late Sardar Vinayak Rav Kibe, the greatest banker at the time in Central India, and the sister of Sardar Rao Bahadur Madhava Rav V. Kibe. The marriage was celebrated at Indore and was a grand function which was attended by His Late Highness Maharaja Tukoji Rav Holkar with his family and the Agent to the Governor-General in Central India with his staff. In fact the family resides, for long periods from time to time in the Garhi.

8 The people of Panth Piploda and Gudbheli have a great confidence in Maj. Kailashchandra Rav, to whom they go over for medical treatment.

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4. On the 4th July 1947 the writer applied to the Resident in Central India and Chief Commissioner of Panth Piploda, and the Political Agent in Malwa and Collector of Panth Piploda, for the preservation of important records -- existing in their offices as regards the Panth Piploda Estate and the Khandekar Family.

Ganpatrav Gopal Khandekar
of Panth Piploda.

Pages 255 & 256 of the
Aitchison Treaties Vol.
IV 1929 edition-revised
up to the end of 1930.

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6. Panth Piploda.

Panth Piploda, which now comprises 10½ villages possessed by five different Thakurs, is held directly from the British Government without the intervention of any Indian State. In November 1928 the tract of Panth Piploda was declared to be a Chief Commissioner-ship and the Agent to the Governor General in Central India was appointed the Chief Commissioner and Legal Government for the purpose of all enactments in force therein.

An assignment of the revenue of ten villages of Piploda and Mandaval, amounting to Rs.11,761 * was originally made by the Peshwa Madho Rao I to the family of Gopal Sambhaji, a Mahratta Pandit, and was renewed in the names of his sons, Dhondu Gopal and Janardan Gopal , by the Peshwa Madho Rao II. By article 14 of the Treaty of 1817 (see No. XV. Volume VII. the Peshwa), the Peshwa ceded to the British Government all his territories and rights in Malwa. By this session therefore the ten villages of Panth Piploda became British territory; but Government continued the State of things which had existed under Mahratta rule: and in 1821 Naru Dhondu and Wasudeo Janardan, sons of Dhondu Gopal and Janardan Gopal, received from Sir John Malcolm a Sanad (NO.XVII), which was confirmed by the Supreme Government, whereby their right to receive tribute on ten villages in the district of Mandaval and the Subah of Mandsaur was recognized.

Naru Dhondu was succeeded in 1850 by his son Gopal Rao, who died in February 1906 and was succeeded by his son Dhondu Gopal alias Nana Sahib, born in 1863. Wasudeo Janardan died in 1868 and was succeeded by his son Janardan Wasudeo, who was of weak intellect and the management of his affairs was entrusted to a Kamdar,- subject to the control of the politica Agent. Janardan Wasudeo died in 1896, and was succeeded by his son Narayan Rao, born in 1870. He was entrusted with the

(Foot-Note) Since 1870 payments have been made of Rs. 11,142-8-0 Hali and Rs.618-11-0 Salim Shahi.

the management of his affairs in 1892. Govind has succeeded Narayan Rav on the latter's death in March 1929.

The grantees have no proprietory rights over the villages from which their assaignment is drawn. To prevent dispute between the grantees and the proprietors, the cash assignment is paid through the Political Agent, who directly holds the jurisdiction over these villages. The proprietors were held responsible for the peace of the villages upto 1908 when owing to mal-administration, a Manager was appointed to discharge judicial functions and look after the revenue and general administration under the direction of the Political Agent. The cost of the administration is met from the revenue of the estate, and the surplus is distributed among the Thakur proprietors.

The villages in the holding are at present held by the several Thakur proprietors as shown below:-

Panth Piploda	
Chapakhera	
Kachalia	
½ Karandi	Rawat Mangalsing of Piploda
Kharua	
Kotri	
Kesarpura (Newly populated)	Thakur Ratansingh of Mandawal (Jaora)
½ Sabdi	
Gurbheli	Thakur Gunwantsingh of Gudarkheda
½ Karandi	
Chapaner	Thakur Bheron Singh of Chapaner
Sakatkheri	Thakur Mahendra Singh of Sarwan

The area of Panth Piploda is 25.29 square miles; the population, according to the census of 1921 is 4,406; and the revenue about Rs. 57,700/-, out of which the revenue assignment is paid to the grantees.

Nasaraha was taken on succession from the grantees of the cash assignment upto 1911 when, on the occasion of the Coronation Darbar, all such levies were abolished.

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Extract.

Registered No. L 848.

THE GAZETTE OF INDIA (Published by Authority)

No. 42, Simla, Saturday, October 20, 1928.

Part I.

Government of India Notifications, Appointments, Promotions etc.

Foreign and Political Department.

Notifications
Page 931.

Simla, the 16th October, 1928.

No.553-1- The following Resolution of His Majesty's Secretary of State for India in Council is published for general information: -

In exercise of the powers conferred by sub-section (4) Section 71 of the Government of India Act, the Secretary of State in Council at a meeting held this 12th date of September 1928, hereby resolves that the provisions of the said section shall be applied to the territory known as Panth Piploda in Malwa, Central India with effect from the 1st November 1928.

No.554-1. In exercise of the powers conferred by section 59 of the Government of India Act, the Governor General in Council with approval of the Secretary of State for India , is pleased to issue the following Proclamation:-

PROCLAMATION.

The territory known as Panth Piploda in the Malwa Agency of Central India shall on and from the 1st November 1928 be taken under the immediate authority and management of the Governor General of India in Council and formed into a Chief Commissionership to be called the Chief Commissionership of Panth Piploda. The Agent to the Governor General in Central India is hereby appointed to be the Chief Commissioner of Panth Piploda, with effect from that date and he will be the local Government for the purpose of all enactments in force therein.

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No.555-1. In exercise of the powers conferred by sub-section (2) of Section 52-A of the Government of India Act, the Governor General in Council is pleased to declare the territory known as Panth Piploda in the Malwa Agency of Central India to be a "backward tract" and is further pleased, with the sanction of His Majesty which has been signified by the Secretary of State in Council, to direct that the said Act in its application to the said territory shall be subject to the following exceptions and modications, namely

The provisions of the Government of India Act which confer powers on the Indian Legislature to make laws for British India shall not apply to the said territory.

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GENEALOGICAL [illegible] THE KHANDEKAR FAMILY OF PANTH PIPLODA

Gopal Sambhaji,
THE FOUNDER OF THE FAMILY

Janadran Gopal
Vasudev Janardan.
Janardan Vasudev.
Narayan Rav (dead)
Govind Rav

[illegible] Rav. | 2 Prabhakar Rav. | 3. Padmakar Rav.

[illegible] Rav.

[illegible] Rav.

THE GENEALOGICAL TREE

A Copy: The Hindustan Times, Sunday, February 23, 1947, Page 3, Colum 5th.

Panth Piploda opposed to Merger with Jaora State.

(By our Staff Correspondent).

Opposition has been voiced by the people of Panth Piploda, a centrally - administered province in Central India, against the move for the amalgamation of the area with the neighbouring State of Jaora. Panth Piploda has an area of 25 square miles and a population of slightly over 5,000.

The people of the province demand that Panth Piploda should be amalgamated with Ajmer-Merwara. Merger with Jaora State, which is less advanced than Panth Piploda, the people of the province say, will be detrimental to their interest. It is also pointed out that the future of Jaora State as an independent unit is not certain as there is a move for the grouping of the State with Indore and Bhopal.

A memorandum in this connection has been sent to the All India States People's Conference.

From,

Ganpat Rav Gopal Khandekar,
of Panth Piploda.

To,

The Hon'ble Shankar Prasad Esqr, I.C.S.,
Chief Commissioner of Ajmer-Merwara
including the Panth Piploda Estate.

Dated, the Civil Hospital, Ujjain, the 17th September 1947.

Sir,

I have the honour to enclose herewith for favour of your kind perusal and use of record in your office:-

(1) "Panth Piploda", a paper written by me some time back, with the view possibly, to submit it to the Ministry of Home Affairs, Indian Government, giving, (i) the early history of the place, (ii) its development during the British regime, (iii) its constitutional situation, (iv) and porposals for impending necessary action, with a supplement, together with the appendices attached thereto, namely: -

(a) A copy of the narrative regarding Panth Piploda, appearing in Aitchison's Treaties, Engagements and Sanads (pp 255-256 vol.IV, 1929 edition, revised upto the end of 1930).

(b) A copy of the notifications appearing in the Gazette of India regarding the constitution of the Estate.

(c) A copy of the geneological table of the Khandekar family of Panth Piploda.

(d) A copy of the news regarding Panth Piploda appearing in an issue of the "Hindustan Times".

and

(2) A copy of the letter, dated the 4th July 1947 which I wrote to the Resident in Central India and Chief Commissioner of Panth Piploda, requesting him for the preservation of the important old and the recent records concerning the Estate and the Khandekar family, in existence in his office and in the office of the Political Agent in Malwa and for

favour of handing these over to the authorities to whom the transfer of power was to be made.

2. The Resident and Chief Commissioner did not show the proper courtesy even of acknowledging the receipt of my said letter (sent by registered post, the postal acknowledgement of the receipt of which was received in due course and is kept in my file). I hope, however, that he has kindly forwarded the records alluded to to your office.

A similar letter with the accompaniments is being sent to the Deputy Commissioner.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant.

Ganpat Rav Gopal Khandekar

of Panth Piploda.

A true copy.
Ganpat Rav Gopal Khandekar,
of Panth Piploda.

The Civil Hospital,
Ujjain, Gwalior State,
The 22nd September, 1947.

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Dear Sir,

Long ago it was contemplated to amalgamate the Panth Piploda Estate, situated until recently in the Malwa Political Agency, in Central India with the Chief Commissioner-ship of Ajmer-Merwara, but the amalgamation has taken place now only now.

Being the oldest member of the Khandekar family of Panth Piploda, I should have liked to come over to pay my respects to you personally and to the Deputy Commissioner. But due to my very advanced age and practical blindness and other physical disabilities, I have been rendered unfit and for some years past have had to stay under the protection of my elder brother's son Chiranjiva Maj. Kailaschandra Rao G. Khandekar, M.B.B.S. He is the Senior Medical Officer in the local Civil Hospital and Superintendent of the Dispensaries in the Ujjain Circle. He had been for about two years at the Edinburgh University for an improvement of his professional qualifications.

I beg to attach herewith for favour of your kind perusal a small sketch of my career. I propose to send him to convey my best respects to you personally and also to the Deputy Commissioner. On hearing from you, he will have to secure the required leave. I hope, Maj. Khandekar may be able to meet you and the Deputy Commissioner in the same trip. I have written similarly to the Deputy Commissioner.

Trusting that you are keeping quite well,

Yours truly,
Ganpat Rav Gopal Khandekar,
of Panth Piploda.

To,
The Hon'ble Shankar Prasadji, I.C.S.,
Chief Commissioner of Ajmer Merwara
including the Panth Piploda Estate,
Ajmer.

A true Copy.
Ganpat Rav Gopal Khandekar
of Panth Piploda.

From,
Ganpat Ray Gopal Khandekar
of Panth Piploda.

To,
The Deputy Commissioner of Ajmer-Merwara,
including the Panth Piploda Estate.

Dated, the Civil Hospital, Ujjain, the 17th September 1947.

Sir,

I have the honour to enclose herewith for favour of your kind perusal and use of record in your office: -

(1) "Panth Piploda", a paper written by me some time back, with the view possibly, to submit it to the Ministery of Home Affair, Indian Government, giving, (i) the early history of the place, (ii) its developments during the British regime, (iii) its constitutional situation, (iv) and perposals for impending necessary action, with a supplement, together with the appendices attached thereto, namely:-

(a) A copy of the narrative regarding Panth Piploda, appearing in Aitchison's Treaties, Engagements and Sanads (pp 255-256, volume iv, 1929 edition revised upto the end of 1930),

(b) A copy of the notifications appearing in the Gazette of India regarding the constitution of the Estate,

(c) A copy of the genealogical table of the Khandekar family of Panth Piploda,

(d) A copy of the news regarding Panth Piploda appearing in an issue of the "Hindustan Times",

and

(2) A copy of the letter dated, the 4th July 1947 which I wrote to the Resident in Central India and Chief Commissioner of Panth Piploda, requesting him for the preservation of the important old and also the recent records concerning the Estate and the Khandekar family, in existance in his office and also in the office of the Political Agent in Malwa, and for the favour of handing these over to the authorities to whom the transfer of power was to be made.

2. The Resident and Chief Commissioner did not show the proper courtesy even of acknowledging the receipt of my said letter (sent by registered post, the postal acknowledgement of

the receipt of which was received in due course and is kept in my file.) I hope,however,that he has fk kindly forwarded to your office the records alluded to.

3. ~~Therefore~~ A similar letter with the accompaniments mentioned is being sent to the Hon'ble the Chief Commissioner

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

GanpatRav Gopal Khandekar.

of Panth Piploda.

A true copy
GanpatRav Gopal Khandekar.
of Panth Piploda.

The Civil Hospital,
Ujjain Gwalior State
The 22nd September 1947.

Dear Sir,

Long ago it was contemplated to amalgamate the Panth Piploda Estate, situated until recently in the Malwa Political Agency in Central India, with the Chief Commissioner-ship of Ajmer-Merwara, but the amalgamation has taken place now.

Being the eldest family member of the Khandekar family of Panth Piploda, I should have liked to come over to pay my respects to you personally, and the Hon'ble the Chief Commissioner. But due to my very advanced age, and practical blindness and other physical disabilities, I have been rendered unfit and for some years past have had to stay under the protection of my elder son, Chiranjiva Maj. Kailaschandra Rao G. Khandekar M.B.B.S. He is the Senior Medical Officer in the local Civil Hospital, and Superintendent of the Dispensaries in the Ujjain Circle. He had been for about two years at the Edinburgh University for an improvement of his professional qualifications.

I beg to attach herewith for favour of your kind perusal a small sketch of my career. I propose to send Maj. Khandekar to convey my best respects to you personally and the Hon'ble the Chief Commissioner. On hearing from you, he will have to secure the required leave. I hope Maj. Khandekar may be able to meet you and the Hon'ble the Chief Commissioner in the same trip. I have written similarly to the Hon'ble the Chief Commissioner.

Trusting that you are keeping quite well.

Yours truly,
GanpatRao Gopal Khandekar,

of Panth Piploda.

To,
The Deputy Commissioner,
Ajmer-Merwara
including the Panth Piploda Estate,
Ajmer.

A true copy.
GanpatRao Gopal Khandekar
of Panth Piploda.

From,

Ganpat Rav Gopal Khandekar,
of Panth Piploda.

To,

The Hon'ble Shankar Prasad, Esquire, I.C.S.,
Chief Commissioner of Ajmer-Merwara,
including the Panth Piploda Estate.

Dated, the Civil Hospital, Ujjain, the 22nd September 1947.

Sir,

I have the honour to say that on the 29th June 1947, I had written a letter to the Hon'ble the Chief Commissioner of Panth Piploda for favour of a reconsideration of his order passed on my appeal, dated the 26th March 1947, to him, regarding my allowance receivable from Chiranjiva Rameshchandra Rav Khandekar, M.A.,L.L.B. (who although "severed" irrevocably from the family by his marriage under the Special Marriage Act has continued, by the Past Government, to be recognised as the Tankedar in the Senior branch of the family). An intimation of the Hon'ble Colonel Poulton's order was conveyed to me in a Communication No.405A, dated the 31st May, 1947, from the Collector of Panth Piploda. Colonel Poulton has since left Central India but I am still in the dark as regards any order he might have passed as regards my request for a kind re-consideration. I however, think that he might have passed some order.

Will you be so pleased as to inquire if any records have been received in your office or in that of the [illegible] Deputy Commissioner of Ajmer-Merwara regarding Panth Piploda and if so, if there is available in these records any order from the Hon'ble Colonel Poulton as regards my request for the said reconsideration. If the order is traced will you very kindly supply me with a copy of it at your early convenience to enable me to do what is necessary in the matter at the proper time?

When I wrote to the Hon'ble Colonel Poulton, the amount

amount of the allowance alluded to, was R.1650/- and on the Kartik Sudi Punam of the current Samvat era (2004) which falls on the 28th November, 1947, it will be R.1950/- .

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant.

Ganpat Rav Gopal Khandekar.

of Panth Pipleda.

A true copy
Ganpat Rav Gopal Khandekar
of Panth Pipleda.

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From,

Ganpat Rav Gopal Khandekar,

of Panth Piploda.

To,

The Hon'ble the Chief Commissioner

of the Panth Piploda Estate,

Ajmer.

Dated, the Civil Hospital, Ujjain the 24th November 1947.

Sir,

In continuation of para 2 of my letter dated, the 17th November 1947, I have the honour to enclose herewith a copy of a letter dated the 23rd November 1947, I have written to the Collector of Panth Piploda, Ajmer. I shall be much obliged if you very kindly arrange to do what is necessary in the matter.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

GanpatRav Gopal Khandekar,

of Panth Piploda.

A true copy

GanpatRav Gopal Khandekar

of Panth Piploda.

From,

Ganpat Rao Gopal Khandekar

of Panth Piploda.

To,

The Collector of Panth Piploda,

Ajmer.

Dated, the Civil Hospital, Ujjain, the 23rd November 1947.

Sir,

I have the honour to thank you for the assurance given in your communication No. PP/16 dated the 29th October 1947, that, "neither the records of the office of the Chief Commissioner nor those of the Collector of Panth Piploda..... are being destroyed." This assurance, however, it is submitted, will not do. Under expert guidence records no longer required are, no doubt, destroyed. But the value and therefore the necessity of the records referred to, in my letter dated, the 4th July 1947, to the Resident in Central India is self-evident from the fact that the correspondence, which had taken place between Captain Borthwick, the first local Political Agent of the late Government, Sir John Malcolm and the Government, has been preserved uptil now, not only in the Political Agent's office, - ~~but also in the India Office~~ London which has quite recently supplied a certified copy of it to me - but also in the India Office, London, from where the late Mr. Boulger had sent a copy of it for my use. Will you very kindly arrange for the proper preservation of the records, that might have been received from the Resident and the Political Agent in Malwa, in a systematic order, as is usually done in Government offices, so that any required paper may be always available for use the moment it is necessary? If all the records, for which I had requested from the

the authorities at Indore, in my said letter, have been received, they will be found to contain important papers in (i)Marathi, (ii)Hindi, (iii)Urdu, (iv)Persian and (v) English.

2. All the communications from the Peshwa, the Scindias and the Holkars, as also the Sanad from Captain Borthwick, and most of the communications from Sir Robert Hamilton, the Resident at Indore, and the Political Agents until Colonel Sandys retired, from his office, are invariably in the Modi script of Marathi. At the present time, even in our community there are very few persons, who can read the Modi script. So long as I looked after the work of correspondence in our branch of the family, I kept up the practice of acknowledging the receipts from for the periodical instalments of the Tanka, received from the Panth Piploda Estate, in Hindi and of writing to the Political Officers on the occasions of investiture with the seered thread and marriages, in the Modi script of Marathi. Will you very kindly let me know if there is in your office or in that of the then Hon'ble the Chief Commissioner any person available who can read the Modi script?

The agreement regarding the production and the traffic of opium in the Estate given to us, by Captain Borthwick on behalf of the Government, is in Persian.

3. Presumably the Resident and the Political Agent in Malwa have forwarded to Ajmer a list or lists of the files sent there. But if not, will you kindly arrange to have such a list or lists made for use in the future? Will you very kindly send me a copy of the list or lists at your early convenience? I shall gratefully remit the charges that may be incurred in supplying them. Such a list or lists would enable me to know exactly if all the important old and recent records have been received from Indore.

4.To my regret I found that some of the British officers could not understand the full purport of our communica-tions written to them in the vernaculars,and naturally I was the first person in the Khandekar family,to commence writing to them in English.

5.Indeed I trust that under the Union Administration all the important old as well as the recent records, referred to will be more effectively taken care of than had been done during the past regime.

6 I am sending a copy of this letter to the Hon'ble the Chief Commissioner,Ajmer.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant .

GanpatRav Gopal Khandekar.
of Panth Pipleda.

A true copy
GanpatRav Gopal Khandekar
of Panth Pipleda.

CONGRESS PARTY IN THE DOMINION PARLIAMENT

24, Council House,
New Delhi,
March 15, 1948.

My Dear Sardar

I have received a requisition signed by 31 members of the Congress Party for holding a special General Meeting of the Party to consider the question of appointing a Committee of the members of the Constituent Assembly to enquire into the allegations regarding export and import permits, concessions made available to certain firms in respect of price control, special considerations shown in the matter of disposals and quota allotments and other allied matters as well as to consider the question of the establishment of an Indian Commercial Corporation on the lines of the U.K.C.C.

Under rule 14 of the Party Constitution an emergent meeting has to be held within 48 hours of the receipt of the notice. I have, therefore, convened a special meeting tomorrow at 5.15 P.M. the 16th instant in Room No.63, Council House, to consider the questions raised. Since the matter is important, I am writing to request you to kindly find time to attend the meeting.

Yours sincerely,

Jawaharlal Nehru

To the Hon'ble Ministers
of the Govt. of India.

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CONGRESS PARTY IN THE FEDERAL LEGISLATURE

24, Council House,
New Delhi.
February 10, 1948.

Dear [redacted]nd,

A General Meeting of the Congress Party in the Federal Legislature will be held at 2.15 P.M. on Saturday, the 14th instant, in Room No.63, Council House, New Delhi.

Yours sincerely,

Secretary

received
10/2/48

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel,
New Delhi.

CONFIDENTIAL

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CONGRESS PARTY IN THE FEDERAL LEGISLATURE

TEL: 2987
24, Council House,
NEW DELHI,
10/2/48

Dear Friend,

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the Party will be held at 10.15 A.M. on 11-2-48 in Room No.10, Council House, New Delhi, to consider the day's Agenda.

Yours sincerely,

Secretary

TO ALL THE HON'BLE MEMBERS OF
THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.
CONFIDENTIAL.

P.S. Agenda for the meeting would be consideration of Hon'ble Mr. Rafi Ahmad Kidwai's letter(copy enclosed for information)

Copy of letter dated 9th Feb. 1948 from the Hon'ble Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, Minister for Communications, New Delhi, to Sri Mohanlal Saksena, Secretary, Congress Party, Council House, New Delhi.

The Standing Advisory Committee attached to the Ministry of Communications is to meet next Saturday. It has on its Agenda for Consideration the question whether Internal Air Services in India should be nationalised.

As you are no doubt aware, this question was taken up in in the Assembly some time back and was considered at a conference later on. As no decision was reached, temporary licences were given away to certain companies to operate Air Services, pending decision of the issue. Now we have to decide one way or the other, I would suggest that the matter be placed before the Executive of the Party before it is discussed in the Standing Committee.

PLEDGE

(MEMBERSHIP, CONGRESS PARTY, FEDERAL LEGISLATURE)

Province _____

Constituency, _____

I am a member of the Indian National Congress at *

I desire to become a member of the Congress Party in the Federal Legislature, New Delhi.

I declare that I will follow the principles and policy laid down by the Congress or by any competent authority on its behalf and will conform to the rules and directions duly issued from time to time, as well as to the instructions issued by the Party organisation in the Federal Legislature for the guidance of the members thereof.

I also undertake to resign my seat, whenever I am called upon to do so by a competent Congress authority.

Date Signature

---

* Here give name of the place where you are enrolled as a primary member of the Congress.

N.B. A few important operative clauses from the Constitution of the Congress Party are reproduced on the reverse.

1. The Congress Party in the Federal Legislature shall consist of

(a) Members who have been elected to the Federal Legislature on the Congress ticket.

(b) Other members of the Federal Legislature who subscribe to the policy and programme of the Congress in the Federal Legislature, agree to abide by these rules, and are admitted to the Party by the Executive Committee.

(c) Members of the Government, who are not regular members of the Party and who may be admitted as Associate Members.

Provided that no application for membership under this rule shall be considered unless the applicant complies with the following conditions:-

(i) The applicant is a member of the Indian National Congress.

(ii) The applicant is not a member of any political or communal organisation which functions in opposition to the Indian National Congress.

(iii) The applicant is or agrees to become a habitual wearer of Khadi.

All members shall have to sign, if they have not already done so, a formal pledge to be approved by the Party.

2. All members of the Party shall be bound by the Rules made, resolutions passed, and instructions issued from time to time for their guidance in the Federal Legislature by the Congress Party, or the Congress Parliamentary Board.

4. Each member of the Party shall pay a subscription of Rs.175/- per annum in two instalments . . . . .

CONSTITUTION OF THE CONGRESS PARTY IN THE FEDERAL LEGISLATURE

1. The Congress Party in the Federal Legislature shall consist of

(a) Members who have been elected to the Federal Legislature on the Congress ticket.

(b) Other members of the Federal Legislature who subscribe to the policy and programme of the Congress in the Federal Legislature, agree to abide by these rules, and are admitted to the Party by the Executive Committee.

(c) Members of the Government, who are not regular members of the Party and who may be admitted as Associate Members.

Provided that no application for membership under this rule shall be considered unless the applicant complies with the following conditions:-

(i) The applicant is a member of the Indian National Congress.

(ii) The applicant is not a member of any political or communal organisation which functions in opposition to the Indian National Congress.

(iii) The applicant is or agrees to become a habitual wearer of Khadi.

All members shall have to sign, if they have not already done so, a formal pledge to be approved by the Party. (Pledge form approved by the Committee appears as an appendix to this Constitution).

2. All members of the Party shall be bound by the Rules made, resolutions passed, and instructions issued from time to time for their guidance in the Federal Legislature by the Congress Party, or the Congress Parliamentary Board.

3. The object of the Party shall be to carry out the Congress Policy and Programme through the Federal Legislature.

MEMBERSHIP AND ORGANISATION

4. Each member of the Party shall pay a subscription of Rs.175/- per annum in two instalments, of which Rs.50/- shall be earmarked for Party Library and research work.

5. (a) The Party shall have the following Office-bearers:-

1. A Leader;
2. A Deputy Leader;
3. A Chief Whip;
4. Two or more Whips;
5. Two or more Secretaries;
6. A Treasurer; and
7. An Auditor.

(b) The election of the Leader and the Deputy Leader shall be for the full term of the Legislature, while other elections shall be held annually at the beginning of the winter session.

6. There shall be an Executive Committee of the Party consisting of the Office-bearers, and fifteen other members to be similarly elected every year.

7. The Executive Committee shall have power to examine all motions, amendments or bills proposed to be made or introduced in the Legislature by any member, and to approve, modify or reject the same, according as they are in accordance with or contrary to the programme and policy of the Congress.

8. (a) A copy of all motions, amendments and bills proposed to be moved or introduced in the Federal Legislature by a member of the Party shall be sent by him to the Party Office simultaneously with a notice of the same to the office of the Federal Legislature.

(b) All important Government motions, bills and resolutions involving questions of policy should, as far as possible, be placed before the Executive Committee and, when necessary, before the Party meeting, before they are brought up for consideration in the Federal Legislature.

9. No member shall ballot for or move any motion or amendment, or ballot for or introduce any bill, after being informed by the Secretary that such motion, amendment or bill has been disallowed by the Executive Committee.

10. No motion for the adjournment of the business of the Legislature for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance shall be made by any member, without the approval of the Executive Committee, or of the Leader.

11. (a) The Executive Committee shall appoint Standing Committees of the Party for one or more Government Ministries for the study of subjects coming up for discussion before the Legislature and for making other recommendations to the Government regarding the working of the Ministries or measures to be introduced by the Government.

These Committees shall meet from time to time during the session and make their recommendations to the Executive Committee for necessary action.

(b) The Executive Committee or the Leader of the Party may direct any member or members to make a special study of any subject coming up for discussion in the Legislature and to prepare notes for the information of other members.

NO-CONFIDENCE MOTIONS.

12. In the event of any member of the Party sending notice of a motion of no-confidence against any of the office-bearers of the Party or against the Government or against any member thereof for consideration by the Party, a Special General Meeting of the Party shall be held after giving at least 10 days notice, and the motion shall be

deemed to have been passed only when two-thirds of the members present vote in its favour.

OFFICE AND MEMBERSHIP OF COMMITTEES OF LEGISLATURE.

The Party may adopt one of its own members or any other elected member of the Legislature as a candidate for election to the office of the Speaker, or of the Deputy Speaker. No member of the Party; not so adopted, shall seek election to the said offices.

PARTY MEETINGS.

14. General meetings of the Party may be held during the progress of a Legislative session, as often as may be necessary.

Provided that a general meeting shall be held on the requisition of not less than 30 members within 48 hours after the said requisition, specifying clearly the motion to be made or the subject to be discussed, is handed to the Secretary.

15. The Executive Committee shall meet as often as it considers necessary.

16. The quorum for a general meeting shall be thirty and for the Executive Committee five.

17. If a duly notified General Meeting cannot be held for want of quorum, and the meeting is adjourned by a majority of those present to any time not earlier than three hours and not later than 48 hours after the hour originally fixed, no quorum shall be necessary for the adjourned meeting.

18. No member whose subscription is in arrears will be entitled to take part in, or vote at any meeting of the Party or any of its Committees. The Executive Committee will issue notices prescribing the time of payment.

19. All notices of General Meeting posted on the previous day, or handed to the members, or left at their quarters, or communicated to their residence by telephone, at least 2 hours before the time fixed for the meeting, shall be good and valid, when the Legislature is in session. For other General Meetings at least 10 clear days notice shall be given.

20. The following shall be treated as Party questions:-

(a) All matters declared to be party questions at the meeting of the Party or of the Executive Committee, before the day appointed for the commencement of the debate on such matters.

(b) All matters declared to be party questions by the Executive Committee of the Party on the day of the debate, or at any stage thereof.

21. Every member shall be bound to vote on all Party questions in accordance with the instructions issued by the Whip of the Party.

22. In matters requiring prompt action on the spot, which cannot be dealt with at a meeting of the Party or of the Executive Committee, the Leader of the Party shall have the power to issue such instructions as he may deem proper, and all members shall follow such instructions.

23. The Deputy Leader shall exercise all the functions of the Leader, in the latter's absence.

DISCIPLINARY ACTION.

24. Any member who contravenes any of these rules, or deliberately disregards any Whip or written instructions issued by the Leader or acts against the declared policy of the Party, may be removed from membership of the Party, at a meeting attended by not less than half the total number of members. No such decision shall be made by the Party, without reasonable notice to such member, and without hearing any explanation which such member has to give.

25. No member shall be absent from the House when the Legislature is in session, or leave Delhi without the knowledge and consent of the Chief Whip.

Passed at the General Meeting
of the Congress Party held on the
27th January, 1948.

1 Aurangazeb Road,
New Delhi, 6.2.1948.

Dear Mr. Saksena,

I am returning herewith the Membership pledge form of the Congress Party in the Federal Legislature, duly signed by the Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel.

Yours sincerely,

Personal Assistant to Hon.
Dy Prime Minister, India .

Mohanlal Saksena Esq.,
Secretary, Congress Party,
Federal Legislature,
24 Council House, New Delhi.

CONGRESS PARTY
FEDERAL LEGISLATURE

24, Council House,
New Delhi,
February 6, 1948.

Dear Sir,

A General Meeting of the Congress Party in the Federal Legislature will be held at 10 A.M. on Sunday, the 8th February, 1948, in Room No.63, Council House, New Delhi.

Yours sincerely,

Secretary.

P.S. As you are aware, under the new Constitution adopted by the Congress Party, all members have to sign the enclosed pledge. Kindly do the needful and return.

Encl.1

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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CONGRESS PARTY
FEDERAL LEGISLATURE

24, Council House,
New Delhi,
February 4, 1948.

Dear Sir,

A General Meeting of the Congress Party in the Federal Legislature will be held today at 3 P.M. in Room No.63, Council House, to discuss the situation arising out of the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi.

Yours sincerely,

Jt. Secretary

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel,
New Delhi.

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CONGRESS PARTY
CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY
(LEGISLATIVE)

24, Council House,
New Delhi,
January 21, 1948.

To All Members of the
Executive Committee,
Congress Party,
Constituent Assembly(Legislative).

Dear Sir,

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the Congress Party in the Constituent Assembly(Legislative) will be held at 11 A.M. on Sunday, the 25th January, 1948, in Room No.24, Council House, New Delhi, to consider the following Agenda:-

(1) Legislative Programme.
(2) Shri Shibbanlal Saksena's case.
(3) Membership Applications from Non-Congressmen.
(4) Policy of the Government with regard to Nationalisation.

Yours truly,

Laiharilal
Office Secretary

P.S. Copies of papers concerning items 2 & 3 on the Agenda are enclosed.

ANALYSIS OF REPLIES RECEIVED FROM MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESS PARTY EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE REGARDING ADMISSION OF THE FOLLOWING NON-CONGRESSMEN TO THE PARTY:-

1. M.S.Aney, Deccan States Group.
2. Col.M.S.Himmatsinghji, Nawanagar.
3. G.S.Guha, Tripura State.
4. Shamsher Jung, Alipura State,C.I.
5. Dr.John Matthai.
6. N.Gopalaswami Ayyangar.
7. R.K.Shanmukham Chetty.
8. H.S.Gour.
9. Padampat Singhania.

Members of the Executive Committee who have no objection:-

1. Shri Pattabhi Sitaramayya.
2. Giani Gurmukh Singh Musafir.
3. Shri Jagjivan Ram.
4. Shri Surendra Mohan Ghose.
5. Shri K.M.Munshi.

Shri Shankar Rao Deo favours having only Dr.John Matthai, Shri N.G. Ayyangar and Shri Shanmukham Chetty to be admitted and others to remain independent(except Mr.M.S.Aney).

Mrs.Ammu Swaminathan has no objection except in the case of M/s G.S.Guha, Shamsher Jung, and Padampat Singhania who are not known to her.

Shri Biswanath Das has no objection except in the case of Shri Shamsher Jung and Shri Padampat Singhania.

Shri N.G.Ranga wants that any one who is not a habitual Khadi wearer should not be a member of the Party and also any one who has been accused in a Court of law for black marketing.

The following have not replied:-

1. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.
2. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel.
3. Shri Satyanarain Sinha.
4. Shri Mohanlal Saksena.
5. Seth Govind Das.
6. Acharya Kriplani.
7. Mr.Rafi Ahmad Kidwai.
8. Dewan Chaman Lal.
9. Shri Ananthasayanam Ayyangar.
10. Shri Chengalraya Reddy.
11. Shri Rohini Kumar Chaudhri.

24, Council House,
New Delhi,
January 12, 1948.

Tel.2987

Dear Sardar Patel,

In order to keep liaison with the Congress Party and the various Government Standing Committees we have formed Party Standing Committees for each of them. These Party Standing Committees are expected to meet quite frequently, more especially immediately before a Departmental Standing Committee meets and after it has ended to formulate the outlines of approach in regard to various matters coming up for discussion in the Departmental Standing Committee and to review the work done.

I beg to enclose the following for your information:-

(a) A list of Conveners for various Party Standing Committees.
(b) Copy of the letter sent to the Conveners giving outlines of the work their Committees are expected to do.

Yours sincerely,
Mohan Lal Saksena

To all the Hon'ble Ministers.

Encls.

CONVENORS OF STANDING COMMITTEES

1. Shri K.Santhanam. -- Standing Finance Committee for Railways.
2. Shri M.Ananthasayanam Ayyangar. -- Standing Finance Committee.
3. Prof. Yashwant Rai. -- Ministry of Education.
4. Pt.Govind Malaviya. -- Ministry of Food.
5. Shrimati Dakshayani Velayudan. -- Ministry of Health.
6. Shri Deshbandhu Gupta -- Ministry of Home Affairs.
7. Pt.Mukut Bihari Lal Bhargava. -- Ministry of Information & Broadcasting.
8. Shri T.A.Ramalingam Chettiyar. -- Ministry of Industry & Supply.
9. Shrimati Renuka Ray. -- Ministry of Labour.
10. Shri U.S.Mallayya. -- Ministry of Commerce.
11. Shrimati G.Durgabai. -- Ministry of Law.
12. Shri Prafullachandra Sen -- Ministry of Communications.
13. Shri C.D.Deshmukh. -- Ministry of Agriculture.
14. Shri H.V.Kamath. -- Ministry of Defence.
15. Seth Govind Das. -- Ministry of External Affairs & Commonwealth Relations.
16. Shri Jaspat Rai Kapur. -- Ministry of Relief & Rehabilitation.
17. Shri S.Das. -- Ministry of Works, Mines & Power.
18. Shri Brijlal Nandlal Biyani. -- Ministry of Transport (Other than Roads)
19. Shri R.R.Diwakar. -- Ministry of States.
20. Shri C.M.Poonacha. -- Standing Committee on Roads.

A NOTE ON THE WORKING OF THE STANDING COMMITTEES

In the absence of an organised and effective opposition party, the criticism and scrutiny of Government measures have to be done in the Standing Committees. It should, however, not be forgotten that the work of these committees should be essentially constructive and not merely critical. The following suggestions are intended to enable the committees to perform both these functions:-

1. The Congress members of the various Standing Committees are expected to work in team spirit. They shall form Party Committees and convenors have been appointed for all these Committees. It will be the business of the Convenor to keep in correspondence with other members regarding any item in the agenda which may require special attention. Wherever necessary, the Convenor should ask for additional information to help the Committee to give a proper judgment on the issues before it.

2. Each Committee should as far as possible meet not less than once in three months. It must be arranged with the Government that the agenda papers are circulated at least a fortnight in advance of the meeting date.

It may be desirable to have one or two meetings outside Delhi especially when matters relating to particular provinces or local projects have to be considered.

4. It should be the aim of the members of the Committee to become experts on the subject concerned so that the Party, the Assembly and the Ministry may turn to them for guidance.

5. On any issue in which a Committee is evenly divided, the Convenor should send to the Secretary of the Party a note so that the Secretary may, if necessary, place it before the Executive Committee or the Party meeting.

6. The main business of each Committee will be the scrutiny of the budget proposals regarding its department and the consideration of Bills relating to it.

7. The Convenor of each Committee shall submit to the Secretary not less than one week before the Annual General Meeting of the Party a report of the work of his Committee, any difficulties that were encountered in its functioning and suggestions to enable the Committee to work more efficiently.

8. No member of any Committee should hesitate to approach his department for information regarding matters which are essential for his work in the Committee.

9. No member of a Committee should approach a Minister or any officials or the department concerned with a view to securing any personal favour or in connection with affairs of any official of the department concerned.

10. The Secretary of the Party shall arrange to have meetings of the Convenors of the Committees so that they may exchange views and experiences.

Sd.Mohanlal Saksena

CONGRESS PARTY
CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY
(LEGISLATIVE)

106

20, Council House,
New Delhi,
December 13, 1947.

CONFIDENTIAL

Dear friend,

Enclosed is a list of members of the Constituent Assembly(Legislative) who have applied for admission to the membership of the Congress Party in the Legislature. I regret the question of their formal admission could not be brought up before the Committee yesterday owing to other business. Under instructions from the Leader I am, therefore, writing to you requesting you to let me know if you have any objection to the admission of any of these gentlemen to the Party. I would appreciate if you will be so good as to let me have your reply by the 25th of this month. In failure of any such reply, I shall take it that you have no objection.

Yours sincerely,

Mohanlal Saksena

Secretary

To all the members of the
Executive Committee.

Copy to Deputy Leader for information.

107

CONGRESS PARTY
CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY
(LEGISLATIVE)

20, Council House,
New Delhi.

MEMBERSHIP/APPLICATIONS FROM NON-CONGRESSMEN.

1. M.S.Aney, Deccan States Group.
2. Col.M.S.Himmatsinghji, Nawanagar.
3. G.S.Guha, Tripura State
4. Shamsher Jung, Alipura State, C.I.
5. Dr.John Matthai.
6. N.Gopalaswami Ayyangar.
7. R.K.Shanmukham Chetty.
8. H.S.Gour.
9. Padampat Singhania.

December 12, 1947

TRUE COPY

CONFIDENTIAL

20, Council House,
New Delhi,
December 12, 1947.

Tel.No.2987

Mr.Shibbanlal Saksena.

Will you please explain why you should not be expelled from the Congress Party on the following grounds:-

1. Disciplinary action has been taken by the Congress against you debarring you from holding any elective post in the Congress organisation.

2. For persistently disobeying the whips of the Congress Party.

The matter is urgent and if no explanation is received within a week the matter shall be taken up ex-parte.

Sd.Mohanlal Saksena
Secretary
Congress Party
Constituent Assembly(Legislative)

TRUE COPY

13K, Firozshah Road,
New Delhi,
18.12.47.

My dear B.Mohanlal Saksena,
Secretary,
Congress Party in the Dominion Parliament,
New Delhi.

Dear Sir,

Your confidential note dated Dec.12,1947, has pained me deeply. Not only is its tone unworthy of correspondence with a fellow member of the legislature, but its contents are also wholly incorrect.

You have called upon me to explain why I should not be expelled from the Congress Party on two grounds and added at the end that as "the matter is urgent and if no explanation is recd.within a week the matter shall be taken up ex-parte."

I do not realise how the matter was so urgent that ex-parte expulsion would have been justified if no explanation was recd.within a week, esp. when you called the explanation on the last day of the Session and I should have normally left the station the next day. Secondly, you have referred to disciplinary action agst.me taken by the UPPCC for persisting in General strike in sugar industry despite UPPCC's opposition to it on 10.2.47 ten months back; and despite the fact that I had told you that I was disqualified from holding for one year since 10.2.47 any executive office in the Congress organisation, and that the papers in this connection were in Lucknow, you have stated in the first charge that I was debarred from "holding any elective post in the Congress organisation." It is fortunate that the papers in connection with my disciplinary action has just arrived this morning from Lucknow by air mail, and I am able to enclose a copy for your perusal. Otherwise, I should not have been able to reply to your charge within the prescribed time limit of one week.

You yourselves agreed that if the disqualification was from holding any executive office in the Congress organisation, it did not apply to membership of the legislature.

CONT'D.

Besides, I was not elected even a member of the legislature. I was elected a member of the Sovereign Constituent Assembly by the U.P.Legislature. The legislative fns. of the Constituent Assembly were later added to it. The membership of the Sovereign Constituent Assembly is certainly not any executive office in the Congress organisation.

What has pained me deeply is that you should have tried to make the charges agst. me appear graver than they actually were. In the second and last charge also, you accuse me of persistently disobeying the whips of the Congress Party. You know very well that I did not disobey any single whip of the Congress Party except the one issued at 11.5 a.m. on the 12.12.47. Why I disobeyed it, I made clear during my speech on the floor of the Assembly thereafter. The Armed Forces (Espl.Powers Bill) provides for making Martial law the normal law of the country in areas declared to be disturbed areas by Prov.Govts. The Bill was never discussed in the Party. During the debate on the Bill on the 11.12.47, Pt.Thakur Das Bhargava, and Mr.H.V.Kamath clearly explained that it was worse than Martial law as it was going to be the normal law of the country. Mr.Santanam was so much agitated over it that he called it the Second Black Bill that was being brought on the Statute Book of India's Free Parliament and he thought it his duty to get his protest recorded. Dr.Deshmukh also joined Mr.Santanam in the protest, and numerous members of the house felt that the Bill should never have been brought before the Parliament. The House on 11.12.47 was adjourned on my telling the Speaker that I would take somewhat longer time over the Bill and it was already past 5 p.m.

Under these circumstances I was shocked to receive the whip that "no further speeches will be made and all the Hon'ble members of the Party will support the Bill."

My conscience could not bear this. As I said in my speech that in the conflict of two duties between the command of the Party and the dictate of conscience, I chose to obey the latter. I did it deliberately and with a full sense of responsibility and of the risks involved. I am not sorry for it. If the Party chooses to expel me for having placed conscience above Party mandate, I would gladly accept its decision. I hope, in that case, you will give me an opportunity to explain my position before the Party, and to thank them for all the high consideration and uniform courtesy with which the members of the Party have treated me during the last one year of my proud association with them.

Thanking you,

I am,
Yours sincerely,

Sd,Shibbanlal Saksena.

Enclosure:-
(1) Copy of A.I.C.C.decision dated 26.9.47 on my appeal against disciplinary action taken by the Council of the U.P.,P.C.C.

TRUE COPY

(10

A.I.C.C.
Swaraj Bhawan, Alld.

Camp: 6, Jantar Mantar Road,
New Delhi,
26.Sept., 1947.

The General Secretary,
U.P.Prov.Cong.Committee,
Wala Qadir Road,
Lucknow.

Dear friend,

We have carefully read all the correspondence and other papers connected with the disciplinary action taken against Shri Shibbanlal Saksena by the Disciplinary Action Sub-Committee of the U.P., P.C.C. We are of opinion that:-

(1) The letters from prison of Shri Shibbanlal Saksena which form the basis of ~~xxx~~ one of the charges agst.him should be read in the context of his whole prison life in the struggle of 1942. Shri Shibbanlal's prison life has been, from what records are available to us, a varied one. It contained incidents which reflect his courage and capacity for suffering and others which are not creditable to his sense of proportion and compatible with the dignity of a Congressman. His prison life, however, taken as a whole, does not constitute a ground for disciplinary action against him.

(2) The second charge against Shri Shibbanlal is a serious one and that is that he violated certain directions and decisions of the P.C.C. with regard to labour and strike. Shri Shibbanlal considers these directions of the P.C.C. as malafide and malicious and he says in his defence that he had to choose between obeying these directions and obeying the mandate of his labour union, and he chose the latter course. Mr.Shibbanlal's description of the directions of the P.C.C. as malafide and malicious is unfair and contrary to facts. We ~~xgain~~ agree with the U.P., P.C.C. that in disobeying the directions of the P.C.C. in regard to a delicate situation Mr.Saxena committed a breach of discipline which cannot be ignored, specially in view of the note of defiance of the Provincial Congress Organisation running through all his speeches and activities.

As of the two charges brought against Shri Saksena, we have confirmed one and rejected the other, the sentence of disqualification for holding any executive office in the Congress organisation may be reduced from two years to one, the sentence to operate from the time he has been suspended.

Mr.Saksena in his defence call himself a devoted Congressman and a votary of truth and non-violence. We hope Mr.Saksena will, in future, render full loyalty to the Congress organisation and be a source of strength to it and not one of weakness and disruption.

You may send a copy of the letter to Shri Shibbanlal Saksena.

Yours sincerely,

Sd. Sadiq Ali,
Permanent Secretary

Tele. Address :—
"PRESIDOM."

No. 1845/47

111

Constitution House,
New Delhi, the 21st November, 1947.

Dear Vallabhbhai,

I send to you herewith a copy of a letter No.25/100/47F, dated the 20th November, 1947, by Mr. Azim Husain (of your Department) to my Secretary (Mr. Kaul). I had mentioned the subject to you yesterday at the Government House.

On a consideration of the matter, my reaction is against the proposal of filming the proceedings of the House. It is not a matter of simple photography. The whole procedure, whatever its value from publicity point-of-view, will tend to reduce the dignity of the House from that of a Legislature to a Filing Theatre. I may add that there has never been any filming of the House of Commons, nor of any Legislature so far as I know.

What was permitted at the Constituent Assembly meeting on the night of the 14th August was flash-light photography without any elaborate arrangements for the same.

I should like to have yours and Panditji's reaction before I consider favourably the request for filming.

Thanking you, and with kind regards,

Consult Panditji about VP 25/11

Yours sincerely,

To/

The Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel,
New Delhi.

No.25/100/47F.

Government of India,
Ministry of Information and Broadcasting.

New Delhi, the 20th November, 1947.

My dear Kaul,

Mr. Peter Hopkinson of the 'March of Time' has come from England to India to make a film on liberated India in the 'March of Time' series. He has come here with letters of introduction from Mr. Krishna Menon to Pandit Nehru and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, both of whom are anxious that Mr. Hopkinson should be given all possible facilities. Mr. Hopkinson is keen to include in the film a few shots of the Constituent Assembly Legislative in Session. I am writing to enquire whether the Speaker would permit Mr. Hopkinson to film the proceedings on a day when the Prime Minister and /or Deputy Prime Minister are likely to speak. In all he is not likely to take more than, say, 15 minutes but for proper visibility he will have to fix lights in the gallery which of course will be done in advance. I do hope that it would be possible for the Speaker to accede to Mr. Hopkinson's request. From a publicity point of view it is important because 'March of Time' has an all-world coverage and it is desirable that Legislature of liberated-India should be made known to the world outside.

Yours sincerely,

Sd Azim Husain.

M.N.Kaul, Esq.,
Secretary,
Constituent Assembly (Legislative)
New Delhi.

113

1 Aurangazeb Road,
New Delhi, 22.12.1947.

Dear Mr. Saksena,

With reference to your circular dated 18th December 1947 addressed to the Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, I am sending herewith cash for Rs.60/- in respect of the following:

Subscription for Nov-Dec Session	Rs.50/-
Entertainment Fund	Rs.10/-
	Rs.60/-

I shall be glad if you will please send your receipt per bearer.

I may add that the amount has not been asked from us so far, or you would have received it long ago.

Yours sincerely,

Personal Assistant to Hon.
Deputy Prime Minister India.

Sri. Mohanlal Saksena,
Secretary, Congress Party,
Constituent Assembly (Legislative),
24, Council House, New Delhi.

V.

114

CONGRESS PARTY
CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY
(LEGISLATIVE)

24, Council House,
New Delhi,
December 18, 1947.

Dear friend,

I am sorry to note that a large number of members of the Congress Party have not paid their subscriptions so far. I would very much appreciate if you would do the needful as soon as convenient. The following is the position with regard to dues from you:

Subscription for Nov-Dec Session	Rs.50/-
Entertainment fund	Rs.10/-

Yours sincerely,

Sd/- Mohanlal Saksena

Secretary.

The Hon'ble Sardar Patel.

ANALYSIS - CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY (LEGISLATIVE) - PARTY STRENGTH - VACANCIES - PROVINCIAL M.L.A's.

(A). Provinces.

Provinces.	Congress-men.	Others	Total Effective Strength	Vacancies	Provincial M.L.A's.	Grand Total
MADRAS	23*	3	26	-	23	49
BOMBAY	11*	2	13	1	17	31
WEST PUNJAB	12	5	17	-	2	19
UNITED PROVINCES	20$	5*	25	5	27	55
EAST PUNJAB	7	2	9	-	3	12
BIHAR	9	3	12	1	23	36
C.P. & BERAR	9	-	9	-	8	17
ASSAM	2	1	3	1	4	8
ORISSA	3	1	4	-	5	9
DELHI	1	-	1	-	-	1
AJMER MERWARA	1	-	1	-	-	1
COORG	1*	-	1	-	-	1
Total	99	22	121	6	102	229

*Mrs. Velayudhan is an MLC from Cochin
*Shri Khandubhai Kasanji Desai an MLA.
*Begum Aizaz Rasul an MLA.
$Shri Hariharnath Shastri an MLA
*An MLC

6/1/47

Rajkumari
Offg Secy.

Hon'ble the Deputy Leader
of the Congress Party.

ASSEMBLY - CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY (LEGISLATIVE) -
PART I - CHIEF - VACATIONS - PROVINCIAL LEGISLATURES

(2) States.

States	Congress	Official	Others	Total	Vacancy Since	Vacancy Filled
INDORE	2	1	4	7	-	7
GWALIOR	2	2	-	4	-	4
BARODA	2	-	-	2	1	3
COCHIN	1	-	-	1	-	1
KHAIRPUR	1	1	-	2	-	2
JAIPUR	1	2	-	3	-	3
JODHPUR	1	1	-	2	-	2
BIKANER	-	1	-	1	-	1
ALWAR	-	1	-	1	-	1
KOTAH	-	1	-	1	-	1
INDORE	-	1	-	1	-	1
REWA	-	1	1	2	-	2
KOLHAPUR	1	-	-	1	-	1
PATIALA	-	1	-	1	1	2
MAHOMEDAN	-	1	-	1	-	1
TRAVANCORE	-	-	-	-	6	6
BHOPAL	-	-	-	-	1	1
SIKKIM & COOCH BEHAR GROUP	-	1	-	1	-	1
TRIPURA, MANIPUR & KHASI STATES GROUP	1e	-	-	1	-	1
e Also official of the State						
UP STATES GROUP	-	1	-	1	-	1
EASTERN RAJPUTANA STATES GROUP	1	2	-	3	-	3
C.I.STATES GROUP(INCLUDING BUNDELKHAND & MALWA)	1	2	-	3	-	3
WESTERN INDIA STATES GROUP	2e	-	1	3	1	4
e Relation of Jamsaheb						

States	Generals	Officials	Others	Total	Vernacular	Grand Total
GUJERAT STATES GROUP	1	-	1	2	-	2
DECCAN & MADRAS STATES GROUP	2	-	-	2	-	2
PUNJAB STATES GROUP	1	2	-	3	-	3
EASTERN STATES GROUP I	2	2	-	4	-	4
[illegible] EASTERN STATES GROUP II	2	-	1	3	-	3
RESIDUARY STATES GROUP	3	-	-	3	1	4
	27	24	8	59	11	70

6/12/47

Rajpramukh

Officiating

LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESS PARTY

MADRAS

1. Dr.Pattabhi Sitaramayya.
2. Mrs.Ammu Swaminathan.
3. Shri Ananthasayanam Ayyangar.
4. Shri K.G.Menon.
5. Shri C.Subramaniam.
6. Shri V. Nadimuthu Pillai.
7. Shri K.Sambhanam.
8. Shri P.Kunhiraman.
9. Shri M.C.Veerabahu.
10. Shri T.T.Krishnamachari.
11. Shri Srinivasa Mallish.
12. Mrs.G.Durgabai.
13. Shri T.A.Ramalingam Chettiar.
14. Shri L.Krishnaswami Bharati.
15. Shri Ramnarain Ramnarain Goenka.
16. Dr.V.Subrahmanyam.
17. Shri O.V. Alagesan.
18. Shri R.K.Shanmukham Chetty.
19. Shri V.C.Keshavarao.
20. Shri N.Gopalaswami Ayyangar.
21. Shri Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar.
22. Shri B.Shiva Rao.

Please see page 6 also:

BOMBAY.

23. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel.
24. Shri Shankar Rao Deo.
25. Shri K.M.Munshi.
26. Shri S.K.Patil.
27. Shri R.R.Diwakar.
28. Shri Kanhyalala H.Desai.
29. Shri K.M.Jedhe.
30. Shri S.Nijalingappa.

BOMBAY(Contd.)

31. Shri Khandubhai K.Desai.
32. Shri Hariharl Vishnu Gadgil.
33. Shri M.R.Masani.

BENGAL

34. Shri Surendra Mohan Ghosh.
35. Shri Basanta Kumar Das.
36. Shri Prafulla Chandra Sen.
37. Shri Satish Chandra Samanta.
38. Shri Arun Chandra Guha.
39. Shri Suresh Chandra Majumdar.
40. Shri Upendranath Barman.
41. Shrimati Renuka Ray.
42. Shri H.C.Mukerjee.
43. Shri Lakshmi Kanta Maitra.
44. Shri Mihir Lal Chattopadhyaya.
45. Shri Debi Prosad Khaitan.

UNITED PROVINCES

46. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.
47. Shri Mohanlal Saksena.
48. Acharya J.B.Kriplani.
49. Mr.Rafi Ahmad Kidwai.
50. Shri Padampat Singhania.
51. Pandit Govind Malviya.
52. Shri Jaspatray Kapoor.
53. Shri Hariharnath Shastri.
54. Shri Kurshed Lal.
55. Shri Balkrishna Sharma.
56. Dr.John Matthai.
57. Shri M.L.Gautam.

UNITED PROVINCES (Contd.)

58. Shri Ramesh Swarup Sethi.
59. Shri Feroze Gandhi.
60. Sardar Jogendra Singh.
61. Shrimati Kamala Chaudhri.
62. Shri S.Radhakrishnan.
63. Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani.
64. Shri Sunder Lall.

* Please see page 6 also.

PUNJAB

65. Diwan Chaman Lal.
66. Giani Gurmukh Singh Musafir.
67. Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava.
68. Shri Bikramlal Sondhi.
69. Prof. Yashwant Rai.
70. Dr.Lakshmi Tek Chand.
71. Ch.Ranbir Singh.

BIHAR

72. Shri Satyanarain Sinha.
73. Shri Jagjivan Ram.
74. Shri Brajeshwar Prasad.
75. Shri B.P.Jhunjhunwala.
76. Shri K.T.Shah.
77. Dr.Rajendra Prasad.
78. Shri Ramnarayan Singh.
79. Dr.P.K.Sen.
80. Rai Bahadur Sri Narain Mahtha.

C.P. & BERAR

81. Seth Govind Das.
82. Shri B.V.Kamath.
83. Rajkumari Amrit Kaur.
84. Shri P.S.Deshmukh.
85. Shri R.A.Sidhva.
86. Shri Brijlal Biyani.
87. Dr.Sir Hari Singh Gour.
88. Frank Reginald Anthony, Esqr.
89. Shri Laxman Shravan Bhatkar.

ASSAM

90. Shri Rohini Kumar Choudhuri.
91. Shri Nibaran Chandra Laskar.

ORISSA

92. Shri Biswanath Das.
93. Shri B.Das.
94. Shri ~~Harekrishnaxxxx~~ Nandkishore Das.
95xx

DELHI

95. Lala Deshbandhu Gupta.

AJMER MERWARA

96. Shri M.B.L.Bhargava.

COORG

97. Shri C.M.Poonacha.

INDIAN STATES

Mysore.

98. Shri Chengalaraya Reddy.

99. Shri S.V.Krishnamoorthy Rao.

Gwalior

100. Shri Ram Sahai.

101. Shri G.K.Vijayavargiya.

Baroda

102. Shri Gopaldas A. Desai.

103. Shri Chunilal P.Shah.

Cochin

104. Shri P.Govinda Menon.

Udaipur

105. Shri Manikyalal Varma.

Jaipur

106. Pandit Hiralal Shastri.

Jodhpur

107. Shri Jainarayan Vyas.

Kolhapur

108. Shri A.B.Latthe.

Tripura, Manipur & Khasi States Group

109. Shri G.S.Guha.

Eastern Rajputana States Group

110. Shri Gokulbhai Daulatram Bhatt.

Central India States Group

111. Shri Chaturbhuj Pathak.

Western India States Group

112. Col.Maharaj Shri Himmatsingh ji.

113. Shri Bhawanji Arjan Khimji.

Gujarat States Group

114. Shri Vinayak Rao B.Vaidya.

Deccan & Madras States Group

115. Shri M.S.Aney.

116. Shri B.N.Munavalli.

LB

Punjab States Group

117. Shri Nihal Singh Tanak.

Eastern States Group

118. Shri Yudhishthir Mishra.

119. Shri Kishori Mohan Tripathi.

120. Shri Sarangadhar Das.

121. Shri Ramprasad Patai.

Residuary States Group

122. Shri Balvantrai G. Mehta.

123. Shri Jaisukh Lal Hathi.

124. Shri Kunwar Shamsher Jung.

125. Shri Shibbanlal Saksena. U.P.

126. Mrs. Dakshayani Velayudhan Madras

127. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad.

128. Shri K.C. Reddy.

5/12/47.

Rajpatkar
Office Secretary.

To

Hon'ble the Deputy Leader of the Congress Party.

Hon'ble Sardar Patel

Note for information

Mavalankar

30/11/47

(copy)

124

Personal and confidential

No. 2011/47.

151, Constitution House,
Curzon Road, New Delhi.
29th November 1947.

Dear Dr Rajendra Prasad,

With reference to your note to my Secretary dated 26-11-47 asking for certain information about appointments made up-to-date, I have to point out that it would have been appropriate if the note had not been addressed to the Secretary direct.

I have however asked the Secretary to supply the information.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

Sd. G. V. Mavalankar.

Hon'ble Dr Rajendra Prasad,

New Delhi.

125

(Copy). 1,Queen Victoria Road,
New Delhi, the 29th November,1947.

My dear Mr. Mavalankar,

I have just received your letter of date and am considerably surprised to read it. I think the constitutional position is perfectly clear. In the words of the report of the Committee appointed to report on certain matters connected with the future working of the Constituent Assembly after the Indian Independence Act and the Government of India Act as adapted and amended thereafter, "though transacting two kinds of business, the Assembly is one and can have only one President who is the supreme head of it both on its deliberative side and on its administrative side". But because it would be constitutionally inappropriate for the person presiding over the Constituent Assembly when functioning as the Dominion Legislature to be a Minister of the Dominion Government it was suggested that the anomaly should be avoided by making a provision in the Rules for the election of an officer to preside over the deliberations of the Assembly when functioning as the Dominion Legislature. I was authorised by the Constituent Assembly to have necessary amendments and adaptations made which I did and under which you have been elected as an officer designated as Speaker to preside over the Assembly, as I happen at present to be a member of the Government. I do not see how you come in between me and the Secretary entrusted with the work relating to one of the functions of the Constituent Assembly of which I am the President.

Yours sincerely,

Sd. Rajendra Prasad.

The Honourable Mr.G.V.Mavalankar,
Speaker, Constituent Assembly (Legislative),
New Delhi.

PERSONAL.

No.2022/47. 151, Constitution House,
New Delhi, the 29th November,1947.

126

Dear Dr. Rajendra Prasad,

Your letter marked "IMMEDIATE" came to my hands while I was in the House. It pained me considerably.

I regret I am unable to accept the position stated in your letter. I had made my position quite clear when I was asked to stand as a candidate for the Speakership. At the same time, I would not like to enter into any arguments or controversy on this issue at this stage.

But assuming for argument's sake that the position is as stated by you, the Secretary of the Assembly is my immediate subordinate and under normal administrative etiquette, a communication to the Secretary should have gone through me.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

Sd. G. V. Mavalankar.

To/
The Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad,
President, Constituent Assembly, India,
1,Queen Victoria Road, New Delhi.

(copy)

127

1, Queen Victoria Road,
New Delhi.
The 29th November 1947.

My dear Mr Mavalankar,

I have received your personal letter No. 2022/47 of date. I regret that anything that I said in my letter should have pained you and I am sorry for it. Nothing was or could be further from my mind.

I, however, only stated the constitutional and legal position as laid down by you as Chairman of the Committee whose recommendation was accepted by the Constituent Assembly. I have no knowledge of any conditions which you might have laid down before standing as a candidate for the Speakership.

The last thing I can ever do is to show any discourtesy to you. I directed the Secretary to furnish me with certain information considering that he was still in a Department under me. This order was given on the 22nd November and he did not furnish the information till the 29th. On the 26th I passed a second order which shared the fate of the first. I passed a peremptory order on the 28th. This time the information has come accompanied with your letter. I believe I can claim some courtesy from an officer in a Department of which I am supposed to be the head.

Yours sincerely,

Sd. Rajendra Prasad.

The Hon'ble Mr G. V. Mavalankar,
Speaker, Constituent Assembly (Legislative),
New Delhi.

PRIME MINISTER.
INDIA.

128

New Delhi,

17 November 1947.

My dear Mr. Speaker,

I enclose a note for members of the Constituent Assembly (Legislative). If you have no objection to it, I shall be grateful if you will kindly direct your Secretary to circulate to all the members of the Assembly.

The Hon'ble Mr. G. V. Mavlankar,
Speaker,
Constituent Assembly (Legislative),
New Delhi.

Copy to:

1) Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel,
   1 Aurangzeb Road,
   New Delhi.
2) Mr. Satyanarain Sinha,
   33 Ferozshah Road,
   New Delhi.

[29]

NOTE FOR MEMBERS OF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY.

When the members of the Constituent Assembly were elected, the business of the Constituent Assembly was the drawing up of a constitution for free India. It was considered desirable that the best talent in the country and the most representative persons should be elected. There was thus no ban or barrier to the election to the Constituent Assembly of members of the Provincial Legislatures. Even Ministers in Provincial Governments were elected, though an attempt was made not to elect too many of the provincial Ministers or their Parliamentary Secretaries, as this would have meant less of provincial work and administration.

2. A new situation has arisen now since the Constituent Assembly is functioning also as a legislative chamber. It is well-established practice, which no doubt would be adhered to in the future, that no person should be a member, at one and the same time, of both a provincial legislature and the central legislature. Obviously if a person has this dual capacity he cannot discharge his responsibilities adequately and work must suffer somewhere. Normally therefore, it would have been desirable to restrict membership of the new central legislature to such persons as are not members of the provincial legislatures. This applies even more forcibly to provincial ministers.

3. But the Constituent Assembly in both aspects of its work, that is, as a constitution making body and as a legislative body, consists of the same members and it is not possible or desirable to split them up. In any event, as a constitution making body the same members who have thus far cooperated in drawing up the constitution, should finish this task. The question then arises as to how this duplication in legislative work of the central and provincial legislatures should be avoided.

4. It might have been possible to ask those members who belong both to the Constituent Assembly and the provincial legislatures to resign from one of them. In such a case it would have been desirable for them to resign from the Constituent Assembly and retain their membership of the provincial legislatures. Otherwise we shall have to organise a considerable number of bye-elections in the provinces. These bye-elections would have been for short period only, as presumably a new general election will take place sometime next year. In the present state of affairs in the country when all energy has to be directed not only to the maintenance of peace and order but also to constructive effort, many bye-elections would have diverted this energy and possibly produced an unhealthy atmosphere. Apart from this, as I have stated above, it is undesirable for those who have been thus far associated with constitution making to retire from this scene of their activities.

5. It was therefore decided not to make any legal change or modifications in the rules so that the old members of the Constituent Assembly might continue to function as such even though they might be members of the provincial legislatures. Some of the Provincial Ministers and members have already taken a notable part in constitution making and it would be a loss if they left us at this stage.

6. While therefore there is no compulsion or law or rule to prevent a member of a provincial legislature functioning also in the central legislature at present, it is certainly desirable not to encourage this. It is usual in such circumstances for a convention to be laid down and followed. The convention might well be that members of provincial legislatures should not normally function in the central legislature. This should specially apply to Ministers of Provincial Governments. It should also specially apply to membership of Standing Committees, Select Committees and the like, which require constant attendance and continuous work.

7. I suggest therefore that some such convention might be followed for the present in our central legislature. Immediately this would effect the formation of our Standing Committees, Select Committees and the like. Provincial Ministers would naturally be required in their provinces to discharge their heavy responsibilities and they need not stay on for the session of the Central Legislature. Other members of provincial legislatures also need not make a point of attending the Central Legislature, though for the present, as they are here, they might continue till the end of the session.

8. I am sending this note to the Hon'ble the Speaker and if he agrees it might be circulated to all the members of the Constituent Assembly (Legislative).

New Delhi,
17 Nov 1947.

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New Delhi,
17 Nov 1947.

PRESIDENT LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

131

Telegraphic Address :-
"PRESLEGAS."

Constitution House,
New Delhi,
The 19th November, 47.

Secret and Personal.

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Herewith a copy of my reply to Panditji's letter No.203 of the 18th November, of which a copy is also enclosed.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

Jinnah

To,
The Honourable
Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel,
1, Aurangzeb Road,
New Delhi.

Secret and Personal.

Constitution House,
New Delhi, the 19th Novr., 1947.

My dear Panditji,

Thanks for yours Nos. 203 and 204 received late last night.

Your note, as modified, ~~must~~ have been distributed last night to such members of the Constituent Assembly (Legislative) as also members of the Provincial Assemblies.

As regards the question of examining the present Rules and provisions of the Government of India Act, and adapting them, if necessary, to the new situation, so as to maintain the independent entity of the Speaker, I think, it will be better if the question is examined by the Law Member himself and the necessary adaptations suggested by him. In the meanwhile, I am asking my Secretary (Mr. Kaul) to put up his suggestions to me which I shall communicate to the Law Member. I am afraid, a Committee is not likely to be helpful. There is now no question of principle but a question of expediency, or, in other words, the desirability of division of work and selecting the personnel for the work.

The best position is that one and the same person presides over the Constituent Assembly. The difficulty on account of the person being a Member of Government will no longer be in existence. The ~~matter of a person~~ ~~situation making the Speaker~~ ~~Legislature~~ as an independent entity, notwithstanding the removal of the anomaly of a Government Member being the person, the only question is one of adaptations.

I believe from the phraseology of your letter that you are perhaps thinking of the administrative separation and independence of the two Departments

carrying/

carrying on the two-fold duties of the Constituent Assembly. If the Speaker is to be a different and independent person from the President, it automatically follows that the departmental control will vest independently under each and the adaptations will have to be made for the purpose.

You need not spend any time for replying to this. I thought it best to pen a few lines, as there are such few opportunities for me of having talks with you. There is no hurry about the matter and we may talk some-time when you find time.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,

(G.V.Mavalankar).

To/
The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru,
Prime Minister to the Government of India,
New Delhi.

(x) The work of Constitution-making is of a short duration. As you are of the view that the Speaker continues as an ---

Prime Minister,
India.

P.M.No.207,
New Delhi.
18th November, 1947.

Secret and Personal.

My dear Mr. Speaker,

Thank you for your letter of the 18th. I appreciate what you say about the resignation of Dr. Rajendra Prasad from his membership of the Cabinet. I do not think, however, that this will lead to any complication. Dr. Rajendra Prasad has resigned from the Cabinet because he is expected to devote most of his time to Congress work. In any event, the Speaker's office will continue as an independent entity. What, exactly the relations of this should be with the rest of the Constituent Assembly organisation, it is for the Constituent Assembly itself to determine. My own view is that the Speaker should be the head of the whole organisation.

I suggest that a Committee might be formed with you as Chairman to consider this matter.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad's resignation is not going to be accepted till other arrangements have been made, but, in any event, this cannot affect the position of the Speaker.

Yours sincerely,

Sd. Jawaharlal Nehru.

The Honourable Mr. G.V.Mavalankar,
Speaker of the Constituent Assembly (Legislative),
Constitution House,
New Delhi.

Tele. Address :—
"PRELEGAS."

Constitution House,
New Delhi, the 18th Novr.,
1947.

Personal and Confidential.

Dear Vallabhbhai,

Herewith a copy of my reply to Panditji with reference to his note in respect of dual membership, a copy of which he has sent to you.

With regards,

P.S. I am sending a copy of another letter of mine Re Dr Rajendra Prasad

Yours sincerely,
(G.V. Mavalankar).

To/ respects as Pandit

The Honourable
Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel,
1, Aurangzeb Road, New Delhi.

Constitution House,
New Delhi, the 18th November, 1947.

Personal and confidential.

Dear Panditji,

I am in receipt of yours of yesterday with a copy of the confidential note for members of the Constituent Assembly (Legislative).

I agree with you in all that you say therein.

As regards circulation, I would suggest that instead of circulating the note to all members, I am asking my Secretary to circulate it only to those who are at present members of both the Central and Provincial Legislatures.

I would further suggest that you may request the Provincial Premiers to instruct on their own all the Provincial M.L.As. who are members of the Constituent Assembly.

I do not know how the League members are likely to view this. All the same, I think, the note may as well go to them. The question is, should it go as it stands or should only relevant extracts be given. The note is sure to find publication in the press as it is going in so many hands.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

(G.V. Mavalankar).

To/
The Honourable
Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru,
Prime Minister to the Government of India.

(Copy).

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Personal and Confidential

Constitution House,
New Delhi, the 18th Novr., 1947.

Dear Pandjitji,

The proposed resignation of Dr. Rajendra Babu of Food Membership is likely to create some complicated position about the continuance of Speaker's office as an independent entity.

The adaptations of the Government of India Act, as also some of the Rules made on the assumption of the President, Constituent Assembly, continuing to be a Minister of Government now require to be examined and further adapted to suit the new situation if it is intended that the Speaker should continue to be an independent and different person from the President, Constituent Assembly.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

Sd. G.V.Mavalankar.

To/

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru,
Prime Minister, India,
New Delhi.

137
civil lines
Ludhiana
24/10/47

V.P.
8/11
2h

Dear Sardar Sahib,

I have to remind you again about the matter which I mentioned to you during our talk and request you again to do something in that direction without much delay. I am sure you will keep that matter in mind and will remember me at the earliest opportunity available. I am always at your service.

Yours sincerely,
Mangal Singh

2/11

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

6 JANTAR MANTAR ROAD

NEW DELHI

Ref. Confidential

Phone: 46256

Dated 16.9.47

To,

ALL MEMBERS OF THE WORKING COMMITTEE.

Dear friend,

A meeting of the Working Committee will be held at Delhi on the 23rd September at 3 P.M. and on subsequent days. You are requested to attend the meeting. If for any reasons you find it impossible to attend the meeting, you will kindly, for the benifit of the Committee send us your views in detail on the following subjects which we propose to place before the Committee:

1. Composition of the Working Committee. As at present constituted there are seven ministers and two Governors on the Working Committee.

2. The effective functioning of the Congress in the present crisis.

3. Creed, programme and constitution of the Congress.

4. Coordination of the work of the Congress Organisation and the Congress Governments.

5. Convening of the A.I.C.C. meeting.

Yours sincerely,

Shankarrao Deo

GENERAL SECRETARY.

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel,
1, Aurangzeb Road,
New Delhi.

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE
SWARAJ BHAWAN, ALLAHABAD

139

18th Sept. '47.

Dear Friend,

I am sending you herewith copy of my report of the tour I recently undertook in the provinces of Orissa, Andhra, Tamil Nad and Kerala. The report will give you some idea of the problems before Congressmen and the Congress Organisation. We hope you will find time to go through it.

Yours sincerely,

Sadiq Ali

(Sadiq Ali)
PERMANENT SECRETARY

GB

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel,
1, Aurangzeb Road,
New Delhi.

I toured the provinces of Orissa, Andhra, Tamil Nad and Kerala from 1st August to 3rd September. The principal purpose of the tour was to meet Congress workers both from rural and urban areas and belonging to all groups and know from them direct the state of Congress Organisation, the problems facing them and how in their view the Congress Organisation should function in future. I found the minds of a great majority of Congressmen uncertain and unsettled. There was a widespread sense of lack of aim and direction in the activities of the Congress. There was relief and satisfaction when I told them that the present was a transitional phase and there would be an early end to it and that this phase could have been greatly shortened but for the incessant pre-occupation of Congress leaders with problems arising out of the transfer of power, partition of India and constitution-making.

The A.I.C.C. Secretariat has given close thought to the question of Congress re-organisation, the manner and the scale on which it should function in future and the machinery it should evolve for working out the new programme. I placed our tentative conclusions before the workers. There was warm and almost unanimous appreciation of them. The conclusions were:-

(1) The object of the Congress has been attained but the objective conditions prevailing in the country, the unsolved vital social and economic problems demand the continuance of the Congress.

(2) The contents of the object of the Congress have been varying and deepening from decade to decade. The switch over of the Congress from the object of attaining political freedom to that of social and economic freedom for the of India would be wholly in line with the historical development of the Congress. A comprehensive social and economic policy to be prepared and carried out in successive stages by governments.

(3) The Congress Organisation as it functioned when we struggled for Swaraj is a wholly inadequate instrument for extensive and intensive educative and organisational work among the masses to be undertaken now.

(4) The organisation would have to be vastly more strong, efficient and disciplined than it has been hitherto. Till now we functioned more or less at the agitational level. The Congress formally adopted the constructive programme but for good reasons or bad did not or could not take effective steps to execute it on any reasonably big scale. The Congress now, if it is to be an adequate and effective instrument for the expression and execution of the peoples will has to work much more solidly and effectively among the masses of India. The Congress hitherto has been strong and sound at the top but weak and loose in its foundations. Now unless the foundations, the lowest links of the chain of the Congress Organisation, are strong it would be futile to hope for an effective mastery of the situation on the part of the Congress.

While there shall be no groups with separate programmes and separate funds there shall be no rigidity in the thought and outlook of the Congress. The Congress shall be a constantly progressive organisation.

(5) Free India would be a turbulent and tumultuous India and only an organisation strong in foundations, can successfully cope with its varied challenges.

(6) The major responsibility for carrying out the nation-building programme would rest on our provincial and central governments but the Congress Organisation will have a great deal to do in creating the necessary public opinion and education it and in putting across to the public our new ideals. Functioning as the Congress will have to on many fronts and in many responsible capacities, the picture our congress worker will present to the masses will not be as simple and uncomplicated and therefore as attractive as that

other parties and other groups, unburdened with governmental responsibilities, will present to the people. To meet the increased difficulties of our workers and for other reasons it will be necessary for the Congress to put out a considerable amount of literature.

(7) The Congress organisation will have to open numerous training centres on an All India scale as well as provincial for training our workers. The ignorant and untrained but enthusiastic congress worker of yesterday will not do now. We want workers for work among kisans, industrial labour, volunteer organisation and constructive fields. We shall need to have a large army of trained and qualified workers. If we do not have these workers other groups and parties will step in with their workers and their own ideologies. The masses would progressively cease to be under our influence.

(8) Our workers, a considerable majority of them will have to be paid, else, there is no prospect of our organisation at its lower levels functioning satisfactorily. Means will have to be devised for collecting necessary funds.

(9) However varied our activities the Congress Organisation must function harmoniously. All its parts, though enjoying a considerable measure of autonomy will owe their supreme loyalty to the central organisation. The new relationships will have to be carefully worked out. While fundamental policies may be laid down a great deal in the matter of detail will have to be left to time and the incalculable human factor. As precise directions however as possible should be issued with regard to a multitude of matters, small and big.

(10) Organisational problems arising out of the assumption of power to be solved. The Congress organisation will be efficient and disciplined.

(11) Utmost cooperation between the provincial governments and the congress organisation. The Congress Organisation will not be a passive mouthpiece of the Government. Its attitude would be helpful and cooperative but at the same time constructively critical. Appropriate machinery to be evolved for the expression of this constructive criticism.

(12) The central office to be greatly expanded and strengthened for maintaining the all-round efficiency of the entire Congress Organisation at a high level. There would be a corresponding strengthening of the P.C.C. and lower Committees.

This picture of the Congress organisation as it should function in future I found readily acceptable to Congressmen.

When considering with workers the present state of the Congress Organisation I found not a few who were frankly sceptical of the ability of the Congress to hold together in the midst of accumulating temptations. Their case was as follows:-

(1) There is a tendency among ministers and M.L.As. to cut themselves off from the Congress Organisation and enjoy full autonomy. They accept no control of any kind from the Congress organisation. M.L.As from a district belong to more than one group. They all work on party-lines. The A.I.C.C. and the Working Committee checks and controls have for one reason or another ceased to operate as most of our important leaders have burdened themselves with governmental responsibilities which leave them little time for attending to the Congress Organisation and its problems. (ii) Our workers have greatly fallen from the high ideals which the Congress placed before them. They are now engaged in the pursuit of some personal gain and advantage. For this they do not hesitate to curry the favour of officials, small or big. I was told by a P.C.C. Secretary that according to the office estimate nearly 2 crores of rupees must have been spent by workers in coming to the Headquarters to meet ministers and the P.C.C.

for favours or complaints connected with the village food committees etc., (iii) There are new ministerial and non-ministerial groups. Patronage is extended to one group and denied to another. Enthusiasm shown in enrolling members is directly connected with the desire to make a particular group strong. (iv) The Food Committees have divided congressmen everywhere and demoralised and corrupted many of them. (v) Local Boards and Municipalities are a good example of how Congressmen care little for service and pursue petty selfish ends. They degrade Congressmen in the eyes of the public. (vi) The Congress is getting under capitalistic influences. The way our ministers and ministries function do not give one a feeling that the interests of the masses are paramount and that the capitalists and other monied men are shown their proper place. (vii) Plenty of fresh blood is required for the Congress Organisation to work effectively. Most of our Congressmen are those who have been in the Congress long enough and many of them have suffered a lot. Few of them feel inclined to carry on in the old way. They now want power, comfort and security. In brief there is now so much power politics and such a lowering of the standards of public and private conduct that Congressmen today do not command even one quarter of the prestige and respect they did when we were a fighting organisation struggling for freedom.

This is the picture which some of the workers I met gave me. This is how things appeared to them. I found however that there was a feeling of great satisfaction when I told them that much of the indiscipline and disorganisation noticeable in the Congress today was a temporary phase brought about by a multitude of new responsibilities that have suddenly fallen on the Congress and that the Congress will soon address itself to the new situation and evolve a new objective and a definite programme of action to carry it out. The workers, seemed to be in cordial agreement with the picture I gave them of the future Congress organisation.

That seemed to meet most of the doubts and difficulties of workers who genuinely desired the continuance of the Congress but were unable to see their way. I am firmly persuaded that the Congress Organisation will not catch the imagination of the public and our workers unless they have a feeling that the Congress Organisation will be a strong powerful and vital organisation. A weak organisation not enjoying necessary prestige will be worse than useless. It will break down at no distant date. All able and enterprising Congressmen will get out of the Congress Organisation if they find that there is no sufficient scope in it either for their talent or energy or yearning for service. They may join other parties or groups or get absorbed in the government service or engage in constructive work.

If the Congress Organisation of the kind sketched here comes into being our workers will command prestige and influence and they will have no end of work to do in organising and educating the masses, inculcating new ideas and ideals and in helping in a variety of ways our governments in their attempt to construct a new social and economic order. If our ministries are not backed by a strong Congress Organisation they will be faced with inconvenient and embarrassing situations so often that it would be a heavy drain on their energy and resources to meet them unaided. Other parties whether radical or reactionary would be more interested in discrediting and weakening governments than in helping them in their difficult and heavy work.

The Congress Organisation as it is functioning today in the provinces I visited suffered from many weaknesses. The provincial Congress Organisation in Orissa is very weak. It has no funds. There is no effective control on subordinate organisations. It has opened many departments but they do not function either for lack of funds or for lack of drive from those who have been put in charge of them. The district Congress organisations also are listless and inefficient. There is some work done where there is an energetic Secretary. I however found in the course of my tour in the province

that the workers were still eager to continue to serve the Congress if an inspring ideal was placed before them. There are in some districts ideological conflicts and they have created confusion. Among the opponents of the Congress within the Congress are some good congress workers. I however feel that Orissa will respond in an adequate measure to any new call from the Congress.

The provincial Congress Committees of Andhra, Tamil Nad and Kerala have good and influential chiefs and therefore they command prestige in the provinces. The Andhra P.C.C. has energetic Secretaries. They have taken up organisational work in many fields and produced some results. The P.C.C.organisation is dominated and controlled by one group. The other groups whether ministerial or any other find themselves weak. They bring against it charges of unfair treatment of Congressmen belonging to other groups. It is accused of withholding active support to the present ministry and creating an unfavourable atmosphere for it. There is some truth in this charge. The P.C.C. has no love for the present ministry. Active cooperation of the P.C.C. cannot be commanded by the ministry unless some initiative is taken by the centre or ministers themselves. There were charges against the P.C.C. of being in the way of Congressmen belonging to other groups enrolling members. I went into some of these charges on the spot. There were persons who wanted to be issued membership forms in lakhs. I turned down this absurd demand and advised the P.C.C. to issue membership forms to all bonafide Congressmen in only reasonable quantities. Men who have had nothing to do with the Congress wanted facilities for enrolling members. Some of them I met did not wear Khadi and had a look about them of vagabonds and loafers. The P.C.C. has done a good bit of work in the field of volunteer organisation. It is giving serious thought to work in labour and has made some beginning. It has to be paid, else, there is no prospect of our organisation at its. There is work among some classes of artisans. The P.C.C. has Kisan Congress, Students' Congress, weavers Congress, labour Congress and so on. I doubt whether it is proper and advisable to work in Kisans not directly in the name of the Congress but of Kisan Congress which is a separate organisation but a member of which is a Congress member and many or almost all of its workers are Congress workers. The argument advanced for the retention of these sectional labels is that it rouses initiative and helps to build up a good corpse of workers and leadership in various sections. There is today utmost harmony between the Congress and these sectional Congress organisations and therefore no problem arises. But the possibility of disharmony and conflicts cannot be disregarded. I think we must go into this question carefully and arrive at a definite decision.

The Tamil Nad P.C.C. has a good strong chief who devotes most of his time and energy to the Congress organisation. He works both as the President and Secretary of the P.C.C. I found that the General Secretaries do not function or if at all very ineffectively and spasmodically. The Manager or the Office Secretary of the P.C.C. an able, energetic and conscientous youngman managed the P.C.C. and carries on a great deal of the secretarial work.

There is no volunteer organisation in the province. The P.C.C. chief told me that they now contemplate taking up the matter in earnest. I visited some labour centres. I found that the P.C.C. has not neglected the labour front. The union at Coimbatore is a good strong union. No serious ideological differences have yet appeared in the union but the danger is not absent. If there are groups in the Congress the labour front is first and most to suffer. Where the President belongs to one group and the Secretary to another the difficulties in the way of the union consolidating itself are obvious. I met a large number of workers at the Golden Rock in Trichinopoly. This is a stronghold of the Communists. The Communists regard it as a fort which they would guard against the invasion of the Congress by all possible means. The workers complained of lack of support and encouragement from the P.C.C. and their other difficulties. The P.C.C. is not unmindful of the need to give all possible support to the new Union.

There is a difficulty about labour work which faces the P.C.C. There are some Unions in the province which are under the control and effective guidance of the P.C.C. The INTUC sends out its workers for establishing a Union of its own. Is it absolutely necessary for the Congress to merge its Unions in the INTUC? and allow them to be controlled by it? If the Congress Committee is allowed to have its own union, can or should the INTUC establish a branch of its own and weaken the Congress Union?

I did not come across much complaint about enrolment. The P.C.C. is working in harmony with the ministry and therefore there is no so-called ministerial group working as a separate group. There is however a set of workers in the province who complain that the P.C.C. under the control of Shri Kamaraj Nadar behaves in a partisan manner and seeks to strengthen its group. Some of these workers met me. ~~It~~ I was not impressed by their case. Their complaint that the P.C.C. organisation has placed no effective programme of work before Congressmen and Congress Committees is not peculiar to the province. I told these workers that they had a right to complain and criticise but they should not form a permanent organisation. Any specific complaints against the P.C.C. can be forwarded to A.I.C.C.

Local Board elections are due to be held shortly in the province. ~~Thes~~ They have given rise to plenty of bad blood among Congressmen. The provincial President was opposed to the Congress contesting elections but he was turned down by the P.C.C. It would be well if the A.I.C.C. Office or the Parliamentary Board could give some thought to the matter and make these elections a more respectable affair than they are. After all, these elections do affect the Congress organisation and they cannot be ignored. Also Congress parties in local boards should have a definite programme. Besides they should be subjected to a certain minimum of discipline.

I was in Malabar for three days. I found here a larger number of primary Committees than elsewhere. It is a small province and therefore capable of being brought under easy control. But the situation is not very satisfactory. The workers are poor. Unless they are properly looked after, it is not possible for the Congress to continue to be an effective organisation. The Communists though they have lost much of their influence and prestige are still a vital organisation. The Congress has started work in labour and weakened the hold of the Communists but still a great deal remains to be done before the Congress is sure of its position. The Communists here as elsewhere have many well-paid workers.

An unfortunate source of weakness in Malabar is the inability of the President and the Secretary of the P.C.C. to work together. The differences are temperamental. They are based on no ideological grounds. I could see no way to get round these differences. The President Shri Kelappan was prepared to resign but the P.C.C. won't have him resign. The P.C.C. also won't have the energetic Secretary resign. The stalemate therefore goes on. It has affected the efficiency and discipline of the Congress Organisation.

I saw some Constructive centres in the South and heard about others. I got the definite feeling that there is more constructive work in the South than perhaps elsewhere. They get educated and earnest workers here who can take to constructive work and throw off their fascination for demonstrative politics. The constructive work done here can greatly expand with necessary encouragement and assistance from the A.I.C.C. The governments of course can be of considerable help to them. I have no doubt that if we after close study of the existing constructive institutions in provinces arrive at some definite scheme for regenerating the rural life, the provincial governments would find themselves persuaded to make their appropriate contribution to the success of the scheme.

The governments may launch a scheme for rural reconstruction but it has no chance of succeeding unless it has trained, qualified workers which only constructive centres can supply or can be made to supply after making available to them certain facilities. The present constructive centres cannot expand as they have no funds. Questions deserving of our attention are (i) how the existing constructive centres can expand (ii) how they can train large numbers of constructive workers and (iii) how the work of various centres in a province and if possible throughout India can be co-ordinated. (iv) a research department confined exclusively to constructive work to be created. It would be good if representatives of various constructive centres can be called to a conference and these and other matters fully discussed.

While I saw that P.C.Cs of the three provinces were not inactive I did not see any worthwhile activity on the part of the subordinate Congress Committees. The Congress workers were either inactive or full of discontent and grievances or were engaged in the pursuit of some advantageous position either in the Congress organisation or in the Government. The Andhra P.C.C. office did show some life, the Tamil Nad P.C.C. should have been much better and more active even in terms of our present standards and the Kerala P.C.C. office hardly deserved the name. I did see some District Congress Committee offices and deliberately avoided seeing others. It pains me to have to see some of these offices. They are a disgrace to the Congress organisation. If we must have the Congress to continue, most of these offices will have to be wiped out of existence. These offices will simply not do for the kind and amount of work we envisage for them in the new set-up.

My lack of acquaintance with the Provincial languages was a great handicap. It kept me from getting to the bottom of group and other conflicts. In one province especially I did not have a feeling that I had access to all groups enabling me to have a full enough picture of the situation in the province. It was however clear to me that there were no large scale ideological conflicts among Congressmen which hampered Congress work. What groups were at work were based on personalities and power-politics. These groups brought charges of inaction and worse against one another.

If we have a clear and effective programme of work to place before our Congressmen and Congress Committees and steps are taken for this programme to be carried out a great many complaints against office-bearers, whoever they be, will be remedied. If there is no such programme Congressmen will have nothing else to do but form groups finally leading to the very extinction of the Congress.

TALKS WITH MINISTERS

I had a frank talk with almost the entire Orissa Cabinet in Cuttack. They agreed that it was absolutely necessary for a strong Congress organisation to function in the country. Without the support of such an organisation the government would be greatly crippled. Basic prime policies should be laid down by the Centre. There was endless trouble and discussion when the question of allowing new textile mills to be set up in the province came up for discussion. The Congress manifesto and Congress resolutions gave no guidance in the matter. The Congress should lay down a definite policy with regard to mills versus small scale industries especially Khadi. Vagueness in central directions exposes the ministry to much criticism and even suspicion of their bonafides. The ministers told me that they endeavour to work in cooperation with the Congress Organisation but parties within the Congress were a great hindrance to cooperation. Also there have been cases of one important Congressman condemning an official and wanting them to take action against him but another Congressman vehemently supporting the same official. The control business has of course divided Congressmen and lowered their prestige and moral status in the eyes of the public.

The ministry was clearly of the opinion that the Congress organisation should continue as strong and vital as possible. Without the backing of such an organisation, the ministry would x xxxxx either break down or become a dictatorship. They were even willing that the basic policies may be laid down by the P.C.C. executive on which there should be ministers also. There should be no ministerial or non-ministerial parties. The Congress organisation, they said, was greater than ministers. The latter derived their power and authority from the former. The Congress however should be a party and not a conglomeration of groups professing different creeds.

I met some Madras ministers after my tour in the South. To my question about relations between the ministry and the P.C.C. they said that it was difficult for them to maintain harmonious relations as they had four P.C.Cs to tackle. The only effective solution that one could see of this as many other problems in the South was the redistribution of provinces on a linguistic basis. The ministers fully realised the necessity for cooperation between the two wings of the organisation. This could be achieved, they said, if ministers are on the P.C.C. executive and are thereby enabled to place all important matters before it and the P.C.C.President and Secretary or any other person on its behalf are on the Assembly Party Executive. A strong Congress Organisation and harmonious relations between the P.C.C. and the ministry were, they said, necessary whatever be the difficulties in bringing them about.

They complained of lack of supervision and control either from the Parliamentary Board or the A.I.C.C.Office. There should be as before a member of the Parliamentary Board or Working Committee in charge of a zone comprising of some provinces. There are many difficulties and problems which, if some persons with central authority were there, would be easily solved. There would be confusion and indiscipline if the Parliamentary Board or some other Central authority did not function effectively and exercise necessary checks and controls.

They also put it to me that now there was no all India policy with regard to any matter. Some provinces introduced prohibition and some did not. Some provinces introduced basic education of one type and some another materially different from the other. If racing has to be stopped it must be stopped in all provinces. Absence of an All-India plan and freedom to provincial governments to move or not to move in any particular vital matter does not create the necessary atmosphere favourable to any measure of reform. Prohibition to be speedily successful must be introduced more or less simultaneously in all provinces.

There are many matters like basic education, rural reconstruction as to which it would be very useful if a conference of ministers were called by the President or Gandhiji and All India policies evolved. This would ensure uniformity of policy and useful exchange of information and ideas.

CONCLUSIONS

I should now sum up my conclusions. I have not burdened the report with detail which is for the use of the A.I.C.C.Office.

1. If it is decided that the Congress should continue, then energetic and speedy steps must be taken to restore to it x its old prestige and moral authority.

2. The Congress should be a homogeneous organisation. It should be one strong, well disciplined party and not a conglomeration of groups.

3. We should have a large number of trained, x qualified and paid workers. We should have, to start with, one such worker for every taluk. He should be assigned definite and concrete jobs. It would be preferable to have an All-India service of which every such worker may become a member. Arrangements should be made for essential

preliminary training to be given to him. They may wait for a more elaborate course of training.

4. The Congress organisation has to be greatly strengthened in its foundations. Each primary village Committee should now be a living centre of a large number of activities, economic, political and cultural. Every primary Committee should collect necessary statistics about all matters vitally affecting it. It will have to carry on political propaganda and educate and organise the people, help other agencies in the literacy campaign, tackle minor economic conflicts and grievances of the peasants.

5. The Congress, it is obvious, should have a definite and well defined objective and long term and short term programmes for achieving it. The main principles and broad details of the new industrial and agricultural economy whether and to what extent based on large scale or small scale industries should be laid. There is considerable confusion today both in our ministries and among Congress workers. It was a general complaint that Khadi etc. and the conception of economy underlying it which the Congress is rightly or wrongly supposed to have accepted, is being very unjustly neglected at a time when there are large opportunities for giving it the needed impetus.

The Congress will have to plan to bring s out a considerable quantity of literature explaining our new economy for mass use as also for educating the educators. We should in this task exploit to the full all available talent in the country. The response from intellectuals to our appeal for cooperation will be, we feel sure, satisfactory.

6. There is a tendency everywhere to look to the centre for guidance, inspiration and rectification of all conceivable local wrongs. So long as the foundations of the Congress have no become strong, the Centre will have to continue to be exceptionally strong. The A.I.C.C. Office now is almost twice its pre-1942 strength but we are finding that it is still very inadequately staffed in terms of the work we should have before us. The staff will be increased as and when we find suitable men and we know clearly what the Congress organisation is going to be in future and how, it is proposed, it should function.

7. In the absence of effective guidance and control from the Centre the Congress Organisation in provinces will disintegrate. There will be no one supreme over-riding royalty holding all Congressmen together. Groups will multiply in the provincial Congress making confusion worse confounded and dragging the Congress name into the mire. It may even happen that some provincial Congress Committees if things do not go according to their will and wishes, willbreak away from the Centre and impose their will on the province. Also if there is no effective provincial centre, owning full loyalty to the Central Organisation, the district Congress organisation may break away and do their own arbitrary will. This danger of secession will be very great in a free India. Many causes will be at work to make this danger a constant threat to the integrity of the Congress Organisation. Only a strong disciplined Congress Organisation can meet these threats.

Today, everywhere, the absence of effective guidance from the Working Committee or the Parliamentary Committee is felt. This has to be remedied.

8. The Congress has once again to define its stand on some vital matters, namely non-violence, Civil resistance, nationalism, national language etc. It may be too early or impolitic to speak on some matters but the necessity for further clarification is there.

9. It is obvious that we have now an enormous amount of educative work to do. This has to be done through pamphlets, lectures, study circles. We have to plan and organise appropriate organs for the increasingly important and vital work. The Fabian Society of England may provide us with a model.

10. There is an urgent need for training centres to be opened for our workers. We should have different categories of workers for different types of work. We shall need workers for work among (1) peasants, (2) Labour, (3) Constructive work and (4) Volunteers. We have already a fair number of workers in the countryside but they and others have now to be formally enlisted ~~hukkikay~~ and given proper directions and training and suitably paid. The Congress Committees in many provinces have, during these few months, turned their attention to work in labour. Once the Congress makes available to itself necessary facilities, our work in labour will make steady head-way. As for constructive work I have already suggested that if and when Governments launch rural reconstruction schemes, they will need a large number of efficient and qualified workers. Our constructive centres can with some assistance from the Governments constitute good training centres. I saw in the South that the Firqa Development scheme worked with a fair degree of success only at places where the A.I.S.A. had worked before and given the government some workers. Where there was no such facility the new recruits only drew their salaries and felt ashamed of themselves. In course of time some of these training centres may develop into good colleges. After all, India of the future would need an enormous number of constructive workers in various fields and such colleges would be an indispensable necessity.

11. We should not neglect students. There is much anarchy in this world. There are parties within parties. The student department of the A.I.C.C. as I saw in the South is likely to evoke in an increasing number of students constructive qualities. If the Congress organisation will function as we want it to function the student community will be drawn towards it. Study circles, a planned lecture series and some kind of centre for constructive work suited to the capacity of students would bear results.

12. Our policy about labour should be laid down in clearer and more concrete terms. The lack of such a policy is a great handicap to our workers in labour. Our policy may not sound as radical and revolutionary as that being advanced by other groups but a clear formulation of it in as concrete terms as possible is necessary.

13. It is our desire to make volunteering attractive as well as useful in terms of citizenship. Through it we wish to draw into our orbit of influence the youth in cities as well as villages. Workers in the volunteer organisation will have to receive a special type of training. Arrangements will have to be made for their training.

14. The Congress organisation has to be purged of opportunists. This, among other things, we can do if we lay down reasonably strict conditions for membership of Congress Executives. This would involve many constitutional changes including the abolition of 4 anna membership.

15. If 4 anna membership is to be abolished and it must be abolished, other sources of income must be tackled. I suggest (1) the levying of a fixed percentage of income from all Congress workers. If this is not found practicable at all levels then the minimum and maximum may be fixed and the fixed percentage allowed to operate at the middle levels. (2) Drawing up a list of sympathisers who may make their annual contribution (3) Periodical collections. We should so plan our work that all our special branches of work become, in a broadly specified period, self-sufficient. Our volunteer organisation can in the course of a few years meet its own expenses without depending on public subscriptions. A great deal of our work among peasants and in labour can be similarly freed from dependence on public charity.

16. I heard much criticism against M.L.As and ministers. The criticism varies in volume and intensity from province to province. In some provinces our ministers may be functioning as effectively and energetically as circumstances permit and in others they or some of them at any rate may be sluggish or incompetent or even worse. M.L.As, I was told at several places, are subject to no control and accept no discipline. Many complaints when investigated, may be bound to be devoid of any truth x but there they are and they vitiate

the atmosphere. Functions and duties of M.L.As, relations between M.L.As and local and provincial Congress Committees and of course the larger question of relations between the P.C.Cs and ministries are all matters that deserve speedy and careful consideration. Also Congressmen unconnected with Assemblies etc. are exposed to many temptations to which not a few succumb and render themselves unfit for any effective congress work. The officials are not slow to exploit the weakness of Congressmen. An atmosphere and conditions have to be created in which the Congress organisation and all its separate wings can function with dignity and maximum effectiveness.

It is outside the scope of this report to deal with the working of our governments. But since the workers I met made repeated references to it I may here say a word. Our governments have passed many measures to improve the condition of the people but somehow they have failed to produce any striking impression on the mass mind whether in cities or in villages. They do not notice any perceptible improvement either in the administrative machinery or the supply of food and clothing and other requirements of life. The black-marketeering, they say, flourishes as before. The kx black-marketeers when caught somehow escape or are very lightly punished. A black-marketeer earning lakhs is let off with a light fine. Corruption is rampant. Anti-corruption department is considered a hoax and a fraud. The administrative personnel is yet far from responsible to the demands of the new situation. There is ample corruption still. Favouritism is not on the wane. There is food and cloth available but a great deal of it goes into the black-market. There is nothing x of any quality and in any quantity which is not available in the black-market. It is extraordinary there are so many black-marketeers and so few are caught. There are many brave speeches on corruption and black-marketeering, they said, but no stern action has been taken. No examples have yet been made of some black-marketeers. Our workers also emphasised that there are not a few ministers and parliamentary Secretaries some of whose transactions are not in conformity with the ideals and standards which the Congress has kept before them.

It would be good if some thought is given to these complaints. Had the parliamentary board and a good Secretariat been functioning effectively a great many of these complaints could have been suitably dealt with.

The feeling among Congressmen that ministers are a law unto themselves, if wrong, should be combated and if right remedied. It is true that the Congress organisation itself has to be purged of many weaknesses before it can command necessary respect. The vicious circle however has to be broken at many points. Whilth the Congress should endeavour to gather strength and prestige, it is entitled to receive necessary recognition and respect from those who are its distinguished members. We have to create conditions and an atmosphere in which all wings of the Congress can function with dignity and maximum effectiveness.

17. At every meeting I heard the charge that the Congress was coming under capitalistic influences. Many of its important and unimportant members they argued were not free from blame in this respect. This is exploited to the full by other groups and parties. This widespread impression prevailing among Congressmen is not conducive to the growth of the Congress Organisation. It impairs the Congress hold on the people.

To sum up, the new situation requires new and speedy adaptations from the Congress. The Congress if it has to continue should be apart from its parliamentary wing, a vital and powerful organisation. To be this it will have to undergo many changes and adaptations and considerable expansion. These I have sketched above. There will have to be many changes in the organisational structure too. These I have not mentioned. It is to me plain and obvious that the Congress organisation will serve no useful purpose unless steps are taken for it to command necessary resources and necessary prestige and respect in the country and abroad.

11-9-1947. SADIQ ALI

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE
6 JANTAR MANTAR ROAD
NEW DELHI

Ref.

Phone: 40358

Dated 5 Sep. 47.

(CENTRAL RELIEF COMMITTEE)

My dear Sardar,

I got information yesterday that L.Dev Raj Anand, President, Municipal Committee and President, Relief Committee, Rawalpindi has been put under arrest on the alleged charge of manufacturing bombs. I have received information of similar cases at Lahore where people arrested were on release shot at the jail gate. I understand that Sardar Baldev Singh is going to Punjab tomorrow. Can you do anything in the matter and get L.Dev Raj Anand released ?

Kindly let me have an early reply as his friends are anxious to know about his fate.

Yours Sincerely,

Secretary

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel,
1, Aurangzeb Road,
New Delhi.

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ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE
Swaraj Bhawan, Allahabad

Ref.G-4/5118

6th September 1947

TO
All Members of the Working
Committee.

Dear friend,

A meeting of the Working Committee will be held at Bombay on September 25 and 26, 1947 and if necessary on subsequent days. You are requested to attend the meeting. You will please intimate to the Bombay P.C.C. the exact time and date of your arrival in Bombay.

Yours sincerely,

Shankarrao Deo

(Shankarrao Deo)
GENERAL SECRETARY

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel,
1, Aurangzeb Road, New Delhi.

Bombay 8
31 Lamington Road
21-8-47.

To

Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel.
Home Member.
Government of India.
New Delhi

May it please your honour

It is with very deep sense of admiration and rejoicings I take this opportunity to send my most heartfelt and sincerest congratulations on the glorious and most brilliant victories you have achieved against heavy odds during the past many years and on delivering this country from the yoke of foreigners - All praises to Almighty Merciful God of Universe. May He grant you very long life with health vigour and zeal to serve this motherland and gain real Independance of each and every individual and bring about equality amongst the so called high caste and the low caste amongst Hindoos of Gujrat province of which you are the bravest Sardar and conquering hero of so many battles of the

rights of citizens and kisans and labourers tilling the fields. You brought freedom to the people of Baroda. In fact you are the enthroned crowned King in the hearts of all the Gujaratis in greater Gujrat and all over the world wherever they may be. You have delivered the people at Oje from foreign yoke but I regret to mention that you have not yet delivered the Dheds of Gujrat from the social tyranny inflicted upon them every day in the villages of Gujrat. Unless and until Dhed wadas are not removed and until they are not brought in the village population areas allowing them to have their houses near the houses of the Hindu population and till they are not merged and absorbed in the bulk and body of the Hindu community of Gujrat till then no real Independance and Swaraj is gained worth the name. My earnest appeal to you Sir, on these auspicious occasions is to bring these Dhed houses in the villages in contact with the Hindoos in villages - Yours faithful P. G. Solanki M. L. A.

153

B.T.B.

No.

INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAHPS DEPARTMENT.

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From ____	To ____	
By ____	By ____	

X MF CAWNPORE 5 [redacted] HONBLE SARDAR PATEL HOME MINISTER I[redacted] 17

[redacted] AURANGZEB ROAD NEWDELHI [redacted]

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BALKRISHNA SHARMA

Press, Lahore—8/179—40,000 Bks.

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P. 3

Tel: 2987.

CONGRESS PARTY,
Central Legislature,
20, Council House,
NEW DELHI.

July 30th, 1947.

To

ALL THE MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE PRESENT IN DELHI.

An emergent meeting of the members of the Executive Committee of the Congress Party in the Central Legislature present in Delhi will be held on Thursday the 31st July, 1947, at 4.30 p.m. in the Constitution Club to consider the future course of action to be adopted by the Party under the changed conditions.

Yours sincerely,

Mohanlal Saksena

(MOHANLAL SAKSENA)
SECRETARY.

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D.O.No. LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DEPARTMENT
New Delhi, the 22nd July, 1947.

My dear Shankar,

As desired by the Honourable the President I enclose herewith a copy of a letter to Mr. Munshi, on the subject of the adaptations to be made in certain sections relating to the Federal Legislature, for the information of the Honourable Sardar Patel.

Yours sincerely,

(H.N. KAUL)

V. Shankar, Esq., I.C.S.,
Private Secretary to the Hon'ble
Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel,
Home Department, New Delhi.

D.O.No. LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DEPARTMENT

New Delhi, 22nd July 1947.

Dear Mr. Munshi,

In continuation of the telephonic conversation which the Honourable the President, Mr. Mavalankar, had with you yesterday as regards the Adaptations to be made in Sections 18-41 of the Government of India Act, 1935 (Federal Legislature), I have been asked by the President to record briefly the points which in his opinion should be further considered.

Sections 26 and 27. In the Draft Adaptations shown to the President Sections 26 and 27 have been deleted altogether. He is of opinion that suitable provisions regarding disqualification for membership should be inserted either in the statue or in the rules if that course is considered more convenient.

Section 28. In the Draft Adaptation relating to this Section, in addition to minor changes it is proposed to omit sub-sections (3) and (4) of this Section.

So far as sub-section (2) of this Section is concerned, the only change made is that for the words "establishment of the Federation" the words "appointed day" be substituted. This equates the privileges of the Constituent Assembly to those enjoyed by the Members of the Indian Legislature immediately before the 15th August. In the opinion of the President this position is quite unsatisfactory. The Presidents and Speakers at several conferences have repeatedly said that the present privileges are wholly inadequate and that legislators in India should have the privileges enjoyed by the Members of the British House of Commons. The President is of opinion that the privileges to be enjoyed by the Members of the Constituent Assembly, pending the enactment of legislation for the definition of those privileges, should be co-extensive with those of the Members of the British House of Commons. Any other course would be inconsistent with the sovereign status of the Constituent Assembly and this matter should not be postponed to a future date but should be provided by the present Adaptations. As a precedent reference may be made to Section 49 of the Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act, 1900, which supports the view of the Honourable the President. This Section reads as follows:-

"49. The powers, privileges, and immunities of the Senate and of the House of Representatives, and of the members and the committees of each House, shall be such as are declared by the Parliament (of the Commonwealth of Australia) and until declared shall be those of the Commons House of Parliament of the United Kingdom, and of its members and committees, at the establishment of Commonwealth."

The Honourable the President is therefore clearly of the opinion that sub-section (2) of Section 28 should be adapted on the lines of Section 49 of the Australian Act.

Section 32. The Draft Adaptations relating to this Section are as follows:-

"32. In sub-section (1) for 'Chambers' substitute 'Assembly', and omit 'in his discretion' and 'or that he reserves the Bill for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure.'

Omit sub-sections (2) and (3)."

It is apparent that the words "or that he withholds his assent therefrom" have been retained in the Draft Adaptation. The President is of opinion that these words should be omitted and that the Adaptation should closely follow the language of Section 6(3) of the Indian Independence Act, 1947. If this is done, the opening words of the Section would read as follows:-

"When a Bill has been passed by the Assembly it shall be presented to to the Governor-General and the Governor-General shall have full power to assent in His Majesty's name to the Bill".

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If this view is accepted, consequential changes may be necessary in the proviso.

I was with the Honourable the President when he had the telephone conversation with you and he has asked me to see you in case you desire any further elucidation of his point of view regarding the above Sections or any other Section concerning the Federal Legislature.

Yours sincerely,

M. N. KAUL

Secretary.

Shri K.M. Munshi,
"Birla House",
Albuqurque Road,
New Delhi.

Along with the general question of having one man with the requisite spirit and mentality to execute the new policies and work the various reconstruction plans, the division of India has necessitated the work of filling the posts which are being vacated by those who have chosen to serve in Pakistan. This opportunity has to be utilised in posting the right man in the right place, from every point of view.

In this connection the first and foremost thing we have to remember is that the superstition about the I.C.S. does not stand in our way. Even today I.C.S. may be useful not only for administrative but to some extent for secretarial post also; but for the departmental posts such as Directors and Directors General of nation-building departments we need men, who, besides having full experience of the work and mastery of details, possess the national outlook, necessary enthusiasm and spirit of service.

At present I wish to bring the specific case of the Director General of Industries & Supplies to your notice. The functions connected with the post are broadly three-fold; first to arrange the supply of stores for various departments of the Government of India and in some cases for the Provinces and local bodies also; second to inspect the stores and third to promote the industrialisation of the country. The first two are useful factors for the third function. But the department has done next to nothing so far, the main reason being that the man with the national outlook and necessary enthusiasm was not at the helm.

Now as the post of the Director General of Industries & Supplies is falling vacant due to the present incumbent having chosen Pakistan, I suggest that Mr. R.P. Mathur, who is already serving the department as Deputy Director General, be appointed as the Director General.

He had his engineering education and 5 years practical training in Germany, the latter in one of the biggest industrial enterprises viz. Siemens. He has been working in the department since 1929. Besides these high qualifications and 18 years of experience he possesses a national outlook and necessary enthusiasm to such a degree that he was dubbed as aggressively nationalist by his European bosses even before 1944. His speech published in the Hindustan Times of the 2nd June, 45, is proof positive of this fact.

And I know Mr. R.P. Mathur since his boyhood, as he was one of those few students, who took part in the Home Rule movement in 1915-16 along with me. I have no doubt in my mind that he will be the right man in the right place and the like of him may be difficult to find. It is this conviction, which has impelled me to write this note.

S. K. S. Patwardhan

New Delhi,
15.7.47. 159

Dear Friend,

Thank you for your letter of the 8th July 1947. You have done well in resigning from the Board of Trustees. Those who are opposed to the entry of Harijans in temples do not seem to realise the force of public opinion as well as the elementary rights of human beings. You have done well in parting company with them.

Yours sincerely,

Seth Govinddas,
M.L.A. (Central),
Raja Gokuldas' Palace,
Jubbulpore.

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Raja Gokuldas' Palace,
JUBBULPORE
Dt. 8th July 1947.

PERSONAL

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I think that you must be remembering that I had a talk about the affairs of my family temple with you at New Delhi some days back. The matter was going on for some days and recently the Board of Trustees of this temple have passed a resolution a copy of which is herewith enclosed for your information. On this resolution, I have resigned my membership of the Board of Trustees.

I know that you are very much preoccupied with most momentous matters and that no intrusion in your time at this hour would be proper. Nevertheless as I feel that you should be in the know of the whole situation I dare send you these papers.

Trusting that you are in the best of health and with best wishes.

Encl : 2

Yours sincerely,

(Govinddas)

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel,
Member for Information & Broadcasting,
NEW DELHI.

Resolution passed by the Trustees of Shri Gopallalji Maharaj Temple at their Meeting held on the 3rd July,1947.

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"This Committee has before them the letters received from the Town Congress Committee, Jubbulpore during the course of the past few days. It was on the 18th March, 1947 that Seth Govind Dasji placed a resolution before the Committee regarding entry of Harijans in Shree Gopallalji's temple. The Committee was of opinion then: "The resolution is rather premature and out of place in the case of our temple". The Committee, however, placed on record their sincere sympathy with the progressive move of Harijan entry and promised full support to this move provided it was pursued through right channels. The Committee also decided to approach such pre-eminent temples of Vallabhkula Sampradaya as those of Nathdwara and Benares in this connection. Letters were sent to these temples and consequent reminders were also sent. Correspondence is still going on but from its trend it appears that final decision will take some more time which is quite natural keeping in view the great importance of the issue involved. From the letters of the Town Congress Committee it appears that this body is very keen on early decision in the matter and is of opinion that the time of three months was quite a long one and that the matter ought to have been decided within this time. This Committee, however, do not wish to enter into discussion about the propriety of this question of time. Though this Committee still stick to their decision of helping any rightful move of Harijan entry to temples they want to make the position of Shri Gopallalji's temple vis a vis the question of Harijan entry very clear.

Shree Gopallalji's temple was built and consecrated to the presiding deity of the family of Raja Gokuldas about 140 years.ago by the ancestors of the present members of the family. The founders of the temple in question was construc wanted a convenient place of worship and therefore the temple in question was constructed near their residential house so that all the family members, male and female, young and old, infirm and healthy should have an easy access to the temple and should be able to participate fully in all the ceremonies of worship and witness the grandeur and sanctity of devotional performances. The descendants of the founders have maintained the glorious tradition of religious worship in this temple all along for the last 140 years from generation to generation.

The founders, however, did not execute any deed of endowment. The descendants made good this deficiency by executing a formal deed of trust in the year 1915. This deed recognises and reaffirms the foundations of the trust and is a written record of its customs and usages, its total assets with all accretions and accumulations etc. Such a deed was obviously necessary in order to perpetuate the traditions of religious sanctity and worship.

The temple was thus pre-eminently meant for worship by family members from whom alone came the funds spent in the construction of the temple and installation and consecration of the diety. It is a matter of common knowledge that the rituals and ceremonies of Shree Gopallalji's worship are very pompous and therefore involve profuse expenditure. It was for this purpose that the founders of the temple endowed considerable property for the upkeep of the institution. All the expenditure of the temple is met with the income of this property and with the offerings made by the members of the family of Raja Gokuldas who alone are entitled to make such offerings. No offerings by any outsider have yet been accepted by the temple and will never be accepted in future.

The main purpose of the endowment is thus obviously the puja of a family diety, the surplus income being directed to be utilized for feeding the poor and helping the students. The temple is essentially a private temple as it possesses all the

characteristic features and incidents of a private temple laid down by Hindu Law and upheld by the Law Courts. They may be summarised as follows :-

1. The temple was consecrated to the Family Idol.

2. It was built close to the residential house of the family, obviously only with a view to afford easy facilities of access and worship to all the members of the family.

3. The entire cost of construction, installation and consecration of the deity was borne by the family alone.

4. Considerable property was set apart for the worship of the Family God and absolutely endowed to the temple for its maintenance.

5. The whole property as originally settled with all its accretions and accumulations absolutely vests in the family Idol and no beneficial interest in it is given to any person.

6. The main purpose of the endowment was the puja of the family deity established by the founders and the consequent attainment of religious merit and spiritual benefit both for the settlers as well as their descendants from generation to generation.

7. The members of the family alone have solely managed the temple and administered its affairs all along for the last 140 years. The family alone is interested in the temple and the worship of the Family God in which the public are not interested at all.

8. It is only by virtue of efficient management and exertions of the family members that the temple has attained its magnificient grandeur and thefamily diety has subsequently acquired large and valuable property.

9. All the traditional ceremonies and rituals of the puja of the family God have been consistently and systematically followed, according to the formalities of the "Vaishava Sect", to the dictation of and under the supervision of the family members alone who have been entrusted with administrative management of the temple.

10. It will not make the slighest difference in principle, even if outsiders attend some religious ceremonies and functions or they worship the said family Idol, for the simple reason that it is always customary to invite or collect lots of people to heighten the grandeur of the function and it is also inconceivable to suppose that any religious minded Hindu will obstinately refuse admission to any other caste Hindu to his temple and prevent Darshan of his idol, even though the temple is his private temple and the deity installed therein is his family God, as it would be contrary to religions and usage and would be deemed sinful to do so. Such acts of association or worship by outsiders done by express or implied permission or by sufferance, do not in the least militate agains the private character of the temple.

The Committee are strictly of opinion that the temple is a private one. Opinions of several lawers including that of Mr. T.L. Sheorey, Advocate General, Government of C.P.& Berar concur on this point. The Committee, therefore, sincerely feel that it is a matter of their sole discretion to conduct the affairs of the temple in the manner thought best by them and any outside interference is tantamount to unworthy and illegal interference in the affairs of a private individual acting within the framework of the common Law of the land. It has never been the policy of the Indian National Congress which to-day is the great and beloved organization of the people of this Country to interfere with the private affairs of an individual. It is really unworthy of a great organisation.

The Committee are sure that the worthy members of the Town Congress Committee do not desire to break this glorious tradition of the Indian National Congress and that their action would always be confined to questions relating to public bodies.

We are also informed that legislation regarding Harijan entry in temples is going to be introduced in the next August session of the C.P.& Berar Legislative Assembly which is controlled by the Congress. This legislation would naturally contain clear provisions regarding private and public temples. It is, therefore, prudent to postpone this matter till this legislation takes its final shape. When the Government of the province isrrun by popular will, it is best and worthy of an independent people to take such actions by passing proper legislation. Agitational measures have now become out of date in view of the political advance made by us. We feel that inviting a crisis in this matter by inordinate haste would be wholly improper especially when there are hardly a few days for the legislation to be introduced in the provincial legislature."

The Trustees of
Shri Gopallalji Maharaj Temple,
Jubbulpore

Gentlemen!

It is with a sense of profound regret that I am submitting my resignation from the trusteeship of the temple. The decision taken by you regarding Harijan entry on the 3rd July has left no other course for me but to resign my membership of your committee.

My association with the temple has been of a very long standing and I am sure that none of you have been connected with it for the time and in the manner in which I have been associated with it. On this occasion several reminiscences of the past are becoming alive in my memory. I remember the days when my beloved grandfather, Raja Gokuldas used to attend the religious celebrations at the temple and perform the 'ARTI' of Shri Gopallalji taking me in his lap. I was only three years old at that time. Raja Sahib wanted to make me acquainted with every minute detail of the mode of religious worship from my very childhood and he amply succeeded in his object. When he breathed his last, I was only 12 years old but I had become conversant with all the details of every day religious worship as well as with the pompous procedure of celebrating the greatest festivals. On several occasions I used to take part in every-day religious worship and so far as the festivals and 'Manoraths' of Vallabhkula Sampradaya are concerned, there never passed a single one of these in which I did not participate actively. I remember how in the pleasant days of spring, I used to take great pleasure in making flower beds by arranging flowers one by one with my own hands for Shri Thakurji; how I participated in the spring festivities of 'Rang-gulal' with great enthusiasm in the artificial orchards that were made in the temple and how I used to make flower 'jhulas' in the month of Shravana. I remember how I took interest in making pictures ('Sanjhi') of various important incidents of the life of Shri Krishna by dry colours on the floor of the temple during Ashwin. I am overwhelmed with feelings of mingled joy and sorrow as I remember these and various other festivities so peculiar to the Vallabhkula Sampradaya whose presiding diety I used to worship with an ardent sense of affection and devotion. I remember how thirty years ago my father had arranged a special 'chhappan bhog' festival at the temple's own garden Gopal Bagh, Jubbulpore and after that how every third year all the yearly festivals were re-performed during the course of the 'Purushottam Mas' - the additional month provided by the Hindu calender. I used to play an important part in the arrangement of these festivals. My mind is full of all, these and many other happy recollections of about forty-five years of devotional worship of Shri Thakurji.

Throughout my life I have been an theist Vaishnava. I got my early training in Vaishnavism at the time of my bringing up in the Vaishnava traditions of my family. Diksha was given to me in the Sampradaya at the time of my name-giving ceremony in early childhood. Though I was brought up in the Vaishnava traditions which have always influenced me and though my constant worship at Shri Gopallalji's temple has always given strength to my Vaishnava faith, I feel that my faith acquired deeper roots and began to draw sustenance from still deeper fields of reasoning and philosophical study. Vaishnavism has always conformed to the impulses of my soul as well as to the argument of my reason. I have tried to explore the habit of thought from which this tenet sprang, its original meaning and its true function. I have explored these with the help that my little study of Indian philosophy has afforded me. In this connection I also had opportunity to study Ballabhcharyaji's

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supreme principle of 'Shuddha Dwaita' and his supreme method of 'Sakar Bal Seva'. This study has brought the sceptic in me face to face with the mystery and pathos of mortal existence. This has made me understand why Vaishnavism is so profoundly moving and in a sense so profoundly just. I am convinced to-day that there is no other method more easy and more poetic for the merger of the individual self into the larger supernatural self.

The magnificience of Vallabhacharya's Generosity is a notable feature in the history of the Moghul period. None of his predecessor Hindu acharyas had ever admitted Vaishyas, Shudras and women to their religious fold. Several mohammedans were amongst the followers of the great Acharya. I have not a shadow of dou t in my mind that on the occasion of the emergence of Shrinathji during the lifetime of Ballabhacharya people of all sects including Harijans had His darshan. This is clear from the very fact that the place of the emergence is such that no particular community can be forbidden to have 'darshan' of the great idol of Shrinathji. There is notemple, no walls, nothing to obstruct 'darshan'. Again, it is notable that Shrinathji used to move on the streets on the shoulders of Mohan Bhangi. This is one of the famous legends of the Vaishnava sect. Even to-day at the time of eclipse Mohammedan can have Shrinathji's darshan.

Hinduism believes and preaches that the whole of the universe is pervaded by the Omnipresent who is present in every home and in every nook and corner of this world. If this is so it is a great anomaly that the very same religion recognises an abominable system of untouchability. I regard untouchability as the greatest slur on Hindu society. As a disciple of Vishnavism and member of the Vallabh Kula Sampradaya also, I have always denounced untouchability and have always actively participate in the movement directed against it. I have never practised it either in my social or personal life. Last year after the death of my father, I became trustee of two of my family institutions - Shri Gopallalji's temple of Jubbulpore and S.S.S. Parvati Bai Dharamshala of Khandwa. There is a temple in this Dharamshala. The diety of which is to be installed in the near future. After being a trustee of this Dharamshala I moved a resolution in the meeting of the trustees held on the 18th October, 1946 by which the Harijans were to be allowed entry in the temple. This resolution was passed unanimously and that temple would now be open to all Hindus. When I accepted the trusteeship of Shri Gopallalji's temple, I had the confidence, that I would be successful in getting the temple open for the Harijans.

On the 18th March, 1947, when I placed before you a resolution by which Harijans were to be allowed in your temple, I hoped that you would accept that resolution. When you passed a very different resolution on that date, a rey of hope was still left in my mind which persisted even on the receipt of replies of your letters from the temples of Benares and Bombay as I thought that inspite of these letters you had the right to open this temple to Harijans. But the resolution passed by you on the 3rd July has frustrated all my hopes. Your resolution stresses that the temple is a private one and that legal opinion confirms this. I am not concerned with the legal aspect of the question as I am not a lawyer. I see the matter from the social and moral standpoint. After your decision, therefore, I have no other course left open for me but to resign the trusteeship of the temple and help in all just measures which have, as their object, Harijan Entry in your temple.

I have seen my grandfather & grandmother alive and I have spent sometime with them during my childhood. The acts of my father and mother have only been too familiar to me. I have also heard how my great grandfather and other ancestors led their lives. All of them have been great devotees. Last year I have seen my father die according to his most pious wishes at noon on the Vaishakha Shukla Ekadashi. As a trustee of the temple, with which such people were connected, I hoped that I

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would get salvation at the feet of Shri Thakurji just as my predecessors got it. But to-day atleast I am feeling that this base is being taken away from me.

After my student life, I became a follower of the Indian National Congress. From that time I have always agreed with the programme of the Congress not only as its member but personally also. I persuaded my father in the year 1921 to abandon the lucrative business of foreign cloth at Calcutta which was yielding an yearly income of over a lac of rupees. Between the years 1921 and 1923, following strictly the Congress mandate several lacs of rupees were left unrealised from the tenants of the villages in my name as no suits were to be filed in the British Law courts. In the year 1932 I had to renounce the whole of my share in the family property.

I had to do many things while following the Congress during the course of the last twentyseven years. But this time what I am required to do is not only connected with my life in t is world but it is vitally connected with the life of the spirit after death in the existence of which I as a theist Vaishnava have full faith. Though this resignation may be an ordinary thing for others and for you, it is an event of momentous importance in my life.

I am,
Yours sincerely,

Raja Gokuldas' Palace,
JUBBULPORE

The July, 1947.

10, Perozshah Road,
New Delhi 8th July, 1947.

My dear Sarangji,

I am grateful to you for your letter of the 7th in reply to mine of the 4th.

As I noted, I was taken aback by what I had raised must have struck you forcibly.

I take it that the reference of the points that you have outlined will have to be [illegible] quested, viz., that all matters should be transferred to Lahore. [illegible] their taking [illegible] not free as from [illegible] would be better to [illegible] all-

to face with the mystery and pathos of mortal existence. This

[illegible] number of staff employed [illegible]

[illegible] on principle. [illegible] are left as residents in India [illegible] and enter our service. [illegible] new entrants may have to [illegible]

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10, Ferozshah Road,
New Delhi 6th July, 1947.

My dear Dr. John Matthai,

You must be frightfully busy. My only excuse for intruding upon your time is my anxiety regarding a point which I believe is now on the anvil for decision.

In connection with the division of assets, etc., which is now going on, you will have to hand over the railways belonging to the Pakistan area to that State. I understand that the question now under consideration is whether the portion of the N.W.R. which will come under our Union, viz., those lying in the Eastern Punjab districts, should be amalgamated with a portion of the East Indian Railway and a new Central Area Railway established to cover this region. This will leave the E.I.R. administration with a smaller mileage on its hands than at present. I believe the cost of setting up this new administration will be quite high, ranging into some crores annually.

I do not know how far the above information is correct; but, if it should be, may I request you to consider the possibility of amalgamating the Eastern Punjab portion of the N.W.R., which will remain with us, with the E.I.R. administration? This, even together with the 500 to 600 miles of the Western Bengal Railways, will give the E.I.R. a mileage area of well below seven thousand miles, which, I believe, is the mileage which the N.W.R. administration has to manage at present. Therefore, This expanded mileage under the E.I.R. administration will still be less than the present mileage under the N.W.R. and will be of perfectly manageable dimensions. Why then should a new administration be created at such heavy cost?

This will not only save all the extra expenditure but, will, I believe, satisfy the general sentiment and wishes of the people, besides spelling for greater efficiency which we are now finding terribly lacking in the railways. As an instance only, I might mention that the Delhi - Calcutta Mail takes 55 minutes to travel 36 miles ---

these old and seasoned officers, I am afraid, it will be no deterrent.

With respectful regards,

Yours sincerely,

Govind

Shri Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel,
1, Aurangzeb Road,
New Delhi.

P.S. I am enclosing a copy of a letter which I have sent to Dr John Matthai. I shall be grateful if you will kindly glance through it and do what you may think proper in the matter.

Enc.1.

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12, Feroseshah Road,
New Delhi 6th July, 1947.

My dear Dr. John Matthai,

You must be frightfully busy. My only excuse for intruding upon your time is my anxiety regarding a point which I believe is now on the anvil for decision.

In connection with the division of assets, etc., which is now going on, you will have to hand over the railways belonging to the Pakistan area to that State. I understand that the question now under consideration is whether the portion of the N.W.R. which will come under our Union, viz., those lying in the Eastern Punjab districts, should be amalgamated with a portion of the East Indian Railway and a new Central Area Railway established to cover this region. This will leave the E.I.R. administration with a smaller mileage on its hands than at present. I believe the cost of setting up this new administration will be quite high, ranging into some crores annually.

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This will not only save all the extra expenditure but, will, I believe, satisfy the general sentiment and wishes of the people, besides spelling for greater efficiency which we are now finding terribly lacking in the railways. As an instance only, I might mention that the Delhi - Calcutta Mail takes 36 minutes to travel 36 miles ---

miles between Khurja and Ghaziabad(E.I.R.) and 20 minutes to travel 18 miles between Ghaziabad and Delhi(B.B.&.C.)

I shall be grateful if you will give this matter your consideration. I am sending a copy of this to Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel and Pandit Nehru.

Again apologising for intruding upon your busy time and with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
sd/- Govind Malaviya.

The Honourable Dr. John Matthai,
Member for Railways,
Government of India,
New Delhi.

Copy forwarded to Shri Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel for information and such action as he may think fit.

8/7/47.

2/5- Venkatachalam St.,
Mylapore
Madras, 7.7.47.

Dear and Most Esteemed Sardarjee!

Namaskar!

I had addressed a note informing you that I was arriving in Delhi on the 3rd and would be waiting upon you on the 4th for paying my respects and making some important representations.

But quite unexpectedly, I was forced to cancel that journey due to the serious illness of my wife..

Anyhow I am Coming to Delhi by the morning train of the meeting of the Constituent Assembly on the 11th and stay there for four or five days.

I shall avail myself of that opportunity to see you.

(2)

In the meanwhile this is only to explain why I couldn't see you on the 4th as intimated and I request to be excused for the same.

Ever with highest and best regards,

Yours obediently,

N. Narayan Murthi

[N. Narayan Murthi]
M.L.A (Central)

NEW DELHI,
7th July 1947.

My dear Govind,

I have received your letter of the 4th instant.

The point that you have raised in your letter about those who have in the past worked for, or have sympathy for, Pakistan choosing to stay in India for future service has not escaped our attention. Such people will be given no option. I have noticed in my experience during the last ten months that the Muslim personnel of the Service is thoroughly disloyal to Government, and it was impossible to run any Administration efficiently or even tolerably fairly. Their full energy was concentrated in disruptive activities inside the organisation. There was no discipline, and they were not afraid of doing anything contrary to rules. We have, therefore, taken care to see that all such elements in the Service go over to Pakistan.

After 15th August, the Service rules and regulations will be strictly enforced and no disloyalty will be tolerated. The oath of loyalty to the Indian Government will first be administered to all, and anyone found to have any other sympathy or loyalty with any outside agency or organisation will have to leave service. You may, therefore, rest assured that proper action will be taken to see that all such people are weeded out from here.

Yours sincerely,

Sri. Govind Malaviya,
19, Feroz Shah Road,
New Delhi.

1, Feroz Shah Road,
New Delhi.

4th July, 1947.

My dear Sardar Ji,

You are so frightfully busy with matters of the highest importance that we, your soldiers, can hardly find the heart to trouble you or to take your time: but several points strike us and worry us relating to matters which are now on the anvil. We feel oppressed and anxious about them and yet the consolation is ours that things are in your strong and capable hands and that, therefore, nothing but the very best will result therefrom.

I have been worried over the report in the newspapers that the personnel of the services are receiving enquiries as to whether they would prefer to remain in Pakistan or in India. Is it contemplated that Muslim Officers, (and who does not know the part they have been playing during these several months in the Secretariat and other offices!) will be allowed to remain with us if they choose to do so? It is a terrible price we have paid for getting rid of this curse of divided loyalities and fifth columnism! Have we still to carry this load round our neck? It may sound a little harsh, but the only right and safe course will be that we should ask them without reservation or exception to move on to their own area.

I have no doubt that the point will be in your mind already and that you will be tackling it in your own inimitable way. I am writing this more to relieve the distress of my mind than because I think it is necessary to trouble you about it.

With respectful regards,

Yours sincerely,

Louis Mountbatten

Shri S. Vallabh Bhai Patel,
1, Aurangzeb Road,
New Delhi.

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Kalipur.
P.O. Gouripur.
(Mymensingh)
June 30, 1947

My dear Sardarji,

May I crave the indulgence of introducing to you my most intimate friend Sj. Sushil Kumar Banerjee who was formerly attached to the Vicerigal Police Staff. This friend of mine being an honest, upright and efficient officer has been treated by the League Govt most shabbily - without any consideration for his lift. Even they failed to give him proper recognition. Under the circumstances I hope you will be kind enough to give him a patient hearing. I shall be extremely grateful if you kindly render him ~~any~~ your wise guidance and help. I am perfectly sanguine that

your slightest interest in him will ensure his success in life.

With an apology for the request,

I am, Yours Sincerely,

D. Lahiri Chowdhury

M. L. A. (Central)

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallav Bhai Patel,

Home Member, Interim Govt.

New Delhi.

No.SNQ.59/47-A.
Legislative Assembly.
.....

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From

M.N.Kaul, Esq., Bar-at-Law,
Secretary of the Legislative Assembly.

To

Lala Deshbandhu Gupta, M.L.A.

New Delhi, the 1st April, 1947.

Subject:- Short Notice Question re. the proceedings of the Ad hoc Press Advisory Committee.

Sir,

In supersession of this Department letter No.SNQ.59/47-A, dated the 1st April, 1947, on the subject noted above, I am directed to inform you that the Honourable the Home Member regrets that owing to a last minute most urgent engagement tomorrow, he will not be able to be present in the Assembly in time to answer this question. He would, however, be prepared to answer it on the 8th April, 1947.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,

M.N. KAUL,
Secretary of the Legislative Assembly.

No.SNQ.59/47-A.

Copy forwarded to the Home Department, and the Honourable Sardar Vallabhai Patel.

Deputy
~~Assistant~~ Secretary of the Legislative Assembly.

E/5 Veerabhadran Street
Mylapore (14)
Madras, 1st July (1947)

To,

Hon. Sardar. Vallabhai Patel.

New Delhi.

Dear and Most Esteemed Sardarjee,

Namasthe!

Being Commissioned by the people of Vizagapatam City to represent their case with regard to the claims of Vizagapatam Municipality for the Military Water Works Installations of that place, now under disposal by the Defence Department of the Govt of India, I am arriving in Delhi by Plane on the 3rd inst and shall personally wait upon you the next day in connection with the above subject as well as to pay my personal respects to you and discuss other matters in person.

This is therefore to request you

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

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CIRCULAR NO.XXX.

To

ALL MEMBERS of the Legislative Assembly.

New Delhi, the 31st March 1947.

Subject :- Group Photograph of the M.L.As.

Sir,

The Honourable the President of the Legislative Assembly has approved of a proposal to have a group photograph of the Members of the Legislative Assembly taken at 10-30 A.M.sharp on Thursday the 10th April 1947. I am, therefore, to request that Honourable Members will kindly assemble for this purpose in the court between the Assembly and Council of State Chambers by 10-20 A.M. at the latest on that day.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,

M. N. KAUL,
Secretary of the Legislative Assembly.

180/31.3.47.

to fix up a time and give me an appointment for interview on the 4th.

The same may be communicated to my Delhi residential address:—

28, Queensway,
New Delhi.

Thanking you in anticipation
and Ever with highest regards,

Yours obediently,

N. Narayan Murthi

N. Narayan Murthi,
M.L.A (Central).

Tel: 2987.

CONGRESS PARTY,
20, Council House,
NEW DELHI.

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February 28, 1947.

To

ALL THE MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESS PARTY.

I have been directed to advise you that a general body meeting of the Congress Party will be held at 5.30 p.m. on Sunday the 2nd March in Constitution Club, Curzon Road, and request you to kindly make it convenient to attend.

Agenda.

1. Discussion of the General Budget.

2. Consideration of Seth Sukhdev's letter.

On the above - Agenda.

Yours sincerely,

Rajpat Rai

OFFICE SECRETARY.

Tel: 2987.

CONGRESS PARTY,
20, Council House,
NEW DELHI.

Feb. 28, 1947.

To

ALL THE MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESS PARTY.

I have been directed to inform you that a general body meeting of the Congress Party will be held at 5 p.m. on Sunday March the 16th in Constitution Club, Curzon Road, and request you to kindly make it convenient to attend.

Agenda.

Election of Office Bearers of the Party and members of the Executive Committee.

Yours sincerely,

Rajpat Rai

OFFICE SECRETARY.

Question No. 1.- May we ask you as to what is your general impression of the resolution passed by the Industries Committee of the Textile Control Board?

Answer.- I must say that it does make an advance on their previous proposals. In the original scheme propounded by the Chairman of the Textile Control Board, he had accepted the principle of standardisation of counts and sorts of cloth, now they have accepted the further principle of spinning coarser counts but however the resolution leaves not only these two principles vague but also the whole scheme vague and it may not be able to achieve the end in view.

Question No. 2.- Is it not a good beginning that they intend going 10 per cent below the average count in which a mill is balanced?

Answer.- Yes; it is a good beginning but I think they should be more specific in this respect. The words, "in which a mill is balanced" are vague although technically correct. I would, therefore, propose that they should take the three years' average period 1943-45 and spin 10% coarser on that average so as to avoid the period in which there was a tendency to go finer unnecessarily.

Question No. 3.- In what way do you say that the scheme is vague and what are your suggestions to complete the scheme?

Answer.- I am glad you have asked me this question. They have not yet tackled three principles which are very simple and easy of putting into practice and much less complicated. For instance,

the widths should be standardised in such a way that there is no unnecessarily wide cloth manufactured. I refer you to the sorts enumerated in my scheme already published;

the weft counts should be generally coarser than warp. The weft yarn also should be stronger

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so that the cloth produced may be of lesser picks which will give more yardage in length of cloth without impairing the strength of cloth. For example, take the case of dhotis which should not be more than 48" wide or voiles and sarees which should not be more than 46" wide;

the difference between reed and pick should be very little and should be scientifically kept so that the warp and weft tear at the same time. Take for example shirting and poplin in medium counts. The weft count should be coarser and the reed should not be more than 80; the picks being 8 to 12 less;

the yarn strengths and the resultant cloth strength should be scientifically tested and standardised.

The results of accepting these principles will be -

the production of durable cloth;

elimination of unnecessary widths; and

releasing of big quantities of extra yarn for handloom weaving.

Question No. 4.- What is your opinion about the suggestion that panel members should have technical committees to help them?

Answer.- The experience so far does not lead me to be optimistic about this. Hitherto the Chairman had all the expert advice in the matter of qualities and rates and still it did not succeed. I would like to propose that a small committee of experts who know the subject and who are keen on seeing increase in production should be appointed with wide powers consisting of a millowner; a spinning expert; a weaving expert; a labour expert and one

representing consumers. Every panel area may be asked to submit within a specified date their difficulties (i) on the scheme that may be finally decided upon for producing more cloth and (ii) for going coarser in counts. The Committee should then investigate the matter on the spot by touring every panel area and consider the problems of each individual mill and decide as to how much they should go coarser and what sorts to produce so as to enable them to produce the largest quantity in yarn and cloth.

Question No. 5.- The Industries Committee states that consumers' interest in cloth is qualitative as well as quantitative. Can you enlighten us on the same?

Answer.- The consumers firstly should have a durable cloth and secondly should have a reasonably fine cloth. Consumers should not be pampered into being offered fineries which the country cannot afford in the present situation. This means that a reasonable limit of fineness may be produced and no more.

Question No. 6.- In commenting upon the scheme of the Chairman, Textile Control Board, you suggested an increase of 25% production in cloth. Do you think it possible to increase production to this limit and will it not reduce your profits?

Answer.- I am glad you have asked this question but I do not think that I am unduly optimistic about it. As a matter of fact, I have started to put my proposed scheme partially into practice in Rohit Mills, Ahmedabad, under my management and this too within the existing schedule of ceiling prices for cloth. The recent partial practice of the above scheme under the existing price structure is expected to give an increased production of 15 to 20 per cent, ~~xxxx xxxxxxxxx~~ within about 3 weeks. That will give more yarn to handloom and also the cloth production itself will be increased both totalling 15 to 20 per cent. However, this is only partial

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implementation. After 4 weeks I intend to put other parts of the scheme also into practice with the help of the Government but for that the present price schedule will have to be revised to enable me to put the whole scheme into practice in all its aspects and I am quite confident about its satisfactory results. I agree with you that the profits will be reduced but don't you think that if the Nation and the consumer at large stand to benefit, the millowners should not mind some reduction in their present profit margin.

Question No. 7.- Do you agree with what the Industries Committee have said regarding their suggestion to the Government in respect of price alignment of yarn and cloth?

Answer.- Yes; I entirely agree with them in this respect. I think that price alignment is necessary and ought to be taken immediately without which it will be difficult to increase production to the required limits.

Question No. 8.- I find in your scheme you have stated that the strength of cloth should be specified but you have not given the details about this specification.

Answer.- I did not do so early because specifying the strengths require scientific testing. I have started testing various kinds of cloths in my laboratory and I expect to elaborate the scheme for the strengths requirements in yarn and cloth in about a couple of weeks time.

Question No. 9.- What do you think the reason of the Industries Committee now accepting the three principles of standardisation of counts and sorts and going coarser and not doing the same earlier?

Answer.- There are various reasons in which I would not like to go into but I can say this much that the pressure of public opinion has had to do a great deal in persuading them to accept these principle and if public opinion is kept up as alert as it is today, the other principles I have alluded to in the beginning also will be accepted by them in due course.

Tel: 2987.

CONGRESS PARTY,
20, Council House,
NEW DELHI.

Feb. 17, 1947.

To

ALL THE MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESS PARTY IN THE CENTRAL LEGISLATURE.

Sir,

I beg to advise you that a meeting of the general body of the Congress Party will be held at 3 p.m. on Sunday February the 23rd (Twenty-Third) in the Constitution Club, Curzon Road, New Delhi. The Agenda for this meeting is consideration of the Party Constitution. A copy of the draft constitution emerging from the Constitution sub-committee of the Party has already been circulated to the Hon'ble members. I enclose herewith in concise form the proposed amendments to the existing rules of the Party. Any member wanting to refer to the present rules can do so in the office.

I beg to request you to kindly let us have by 5 p.m. on Friday the 21st February any amendment you propose to the constitution.

Yours sincerely,

Lajpat Rai

(LAJPAT RAI)
OFFICE SECRETARY.

Encls: 1

CONSTITUTION OF THE PARTY.

1. The Congress Party in the Central Legislature shall consist of

(a) Members who have been elected to the Assembly and Council of State on the Congress ticket.

(b) Members of the Assembly and Council of State, not elected on the Congress ticket, who have or who may hereafter subscribe to the policy and programme of the Party in the Central Legislature, agree to abide by the rules, and are admitted to the Party.

2. All members of the Party shall be bound by the Rules made, resolutions passed, and instructions issued from time to time for their guidance in the Assembly and the Council of State by the Congress Party, or the Congress Parliamentary Board.

3. The Object of Party shall be to carry out the Congress Policy and Programme, to the utmost extent possible, in the Assembly and the Council of State.

4. The Party shall, among other things (a) oppose all proposals, financial, legislative or other, which are calculated to perpetuate or consolidate foreign domination and exploitation, and may,

(b) move resolutions and introduce and support measures and bills which are necessary for the healthy growth of national life and the advancement of the economic, agricultural, industrial, and commercial interests of the country, and in particular, for its educational and social progress, and for the protection of the freedom of person, speech, association, and of the press, and

(c) take steps to improve the condition of agricultural tenants and workers, in rural and urban areas (including the Depressed classes).

MEMBERSHIP AND ORGANISATION.

5. Each member of Party shall pay a subscription of Rs. 150 per annum, in two or three instalments.

6. The Party shall have the following office-bearers, who shall be elected every year at the beginning of the winter session:- A Leader, Two Deputy Leaders one of whom shall be member of the Council of State, A Chief Whip, Two or more Whips, one of whom shall be member of the Council of State and Three Secretaries, one of whom shall be a member of the Council of State and the other two from the Assembly.

7. There shall be an Executive Committee of the Party consisting of the office-bearers, and twelve other members similarly elected every year.

LX3

8. The Executive Committee shall have power to examine all Motions, Amendments, or Bills proposed to be made or introduced in the Assembly or the Council of State by any member, and to approve, modify, or reject the same, according as they are in accordance with, or contrary to the programme and policy of the Party.

9. Members are at liberty to exercise the right of interpellation.

10. A copy of all Motions, Amendments, and Bills proposed to be moved or introduced in the Assembly or the Council of State by a member of the Party shall be sent by him to the Secretaries, not later than twelve hours after notice of the same is given to the office of the Assembly or the Council of State.

11. No Member shall ballot for or move any Motion or Amendment, or ballot for or introduce any Bill, after being informed by the Secretary that such Motion, Amendment, or Bill has been disallowed by the Executive Committee.

12. No motion for the adjournment of the business of the Assembly or the Council of State for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance shall be made by any member, without the approval of the Executive Committee, or of the Leader.

13. (a) The Executive Committee shall appoint standing committees of the Party for one or more Government Departments for the study of subjects coming up for discussion before the Legislature and for making other recommendations to the Government regarding the working of the departments or measures to be introduced by the Government.

These committees shall meet from time to time during the session and make their recommendations to the Executive Committee for necessary action.

(b) The Executive Committee or the Leader of the Party may appoint any member or members to make a special study of any subject coming up for discussion in the Assembly or the Council of State and to prepare notes for the information of other members.

OFFICE AND MEMBERSHIP OF COMMITTEES OF THE LEGISLATURE.

14. The party may adopt one of its own members or any other elected member of the Assembly or the Council of State as a candidate to election to the office of the President, or the Deputy President. No member of the Party, not so adopted, shall seek election to the said offices.

15. Members of the Party may accept any appointment made by the Presidents of the Assembly or the Council of State to the Panel of Chairmen, or other office connected with the Legislature.

16. Members of the Party are eligible to seek election to Select Committees and Departmental or other Committees, to be elected wholly or partly by the Assembly or the Council of State.

Provided that no member shall seek election, unless he has been previously approved by the Party, or the Executive Committee, or the Leader of the Party.

PARTY MEETINGS

17. General meetings of the Party may be held during the progress of a Legislative session, as often as may be necessary.

Provided that a general meeting shall be held on the requisition of not less than 12 members within 48 hours after the said requisition, specifying clearly the motion to be made or the subject to be discussed, is handed to the Secretary.

18. The Executive Committee shall meet, as often as it considers necessary.

19. The quorum for a general meeting shall be fifteen and for the Executive Committee meetive five.

20. If a duly notified General Meeting cannot be held for want of the quorum, and the meeting is adjourned by a majority of those present to any time not later than 48 hours after the hour originally fixed, no quorum shall be necessary for the adjourned meeting.

21. No General Meeting called on requisition shall proceed to business, if less than half of the requisitionists are present.

22. No member whose subscription is in arrears will be entitled to take part in, or vote at any meeting of the Party or any of its Committees. The Executive Committee will issue notices prescribing the time of payment.

23. All Notices of General Meeting posted on the previous day, or handed to the members, or left at their quarters, or communicated to their residency by telephone, at least 2 hours before the time fixed for the meeting, shall be good and valid, when the Assembly is in session.

24. The following shall be treated as Party questions:-

(a) All matters declared to be Party questions at the meeting of the Party or of the Executive Committee, before the day appointed for the commencement of the debate on such matters.

(b) All matters declared to be partly questions by the Executive Committee of the Party on the day of the debate, or at any stage thereof.

25. Every member shall be bound to vote on all Party questions in accordance with the instructions issued by the Whip of the Party, who, in such instructions, shall specify the clause of Rule 26, under which the said question is to be treated as a Party question.

26. In matters requiring prompt action/on the spot, which cannot be dealt with at a meeting of the Party or of the Executive Committee, the Leader of the Party shall have the power to issue such instructions as he may deem proper, and all members shall follow such instructions.

27. No member shall take exception during the progress of the proceedings in the Assembly or Council of State to any Whip or written instructions issued by the Leader, and signed by him or the Whip, on any ground whatever.

28. The Deputy Leader shall exercise all the functions of the Leader, in the latter's absence.

DISCIPLINARY ACTION

29. Any member who contravenes any of these rules, or deliberately disregards any Whip or written instructions issued by the Leader, or acts in a manner calculated to bring the Party, its Leader, or its Executive into ridicule, discredit, or contempt may be removed from membership of the Party, at a meeting attended by not less than half the total number of members. No such decision shall be made by the Party, without reasonable notice to such member, and without hearing any explanation which such member has to give.

30. No member shall be absent from the House, when the Assembly or the Council of State is in session, or leave Delhi or Simla, without the knowledge and consent of the Leader.

STATEMENT OF PROPOSED AMENDMENTS TO EXISTING RULES OF THE CONGRESS PARTY.

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Para 1. Delete 'Assembly' substitute 'Central Legislature'

Para 1(a) after the word 'Assembly' add 'and the Council of State'

Para 1(b) Delete 'Assembly' substitute 'Central Legislature'

Para 2. After the word 'Assembly' add 'and the Council of State'

Para 3. After the word 'Assembly' add 'and the Council of State'

Para 5. After the word 'subscription' delete 'of-- instalments' and add 'as under.-

Budget session Rs. 125/-
Autumn session Rs. 50/-
Entertainment Fund Rs. 10/- per annum

A new sub para - Members of the Select and Standing Committees meeting off the session shall pay Rs. 25/- per annum.

Para 6. After the words 'winter session' delete the present entries and substitute '1. A Leader 2. Two Deputy Leaders, one of whom shall be a member of the Council of State 3. A Chief Whip 4. Two or more whips, one of whom shall be a member of the Council of State 5. Two or more Secretaries, one of whom shall be a member of the Council of State 6. A Treasurer, and 7. An Auditor.

Para 7. Delete 'eight' substitute 'fifteen'.

Para 8. After the word 'Assembly' add 'or the Council of State'

Para 10. After the words 'by him to the' delete 'Secretary' and substitute 'Office Secretary'.

Para 12. After the word 'Assembly' add 'or the Council of State'

Para 13. Delete the present para and substitute the following.- 'The Executive Committee shall appoint standing committees of the Party for one or more government departments for the study of subjects coming up for discussion before the legislature and for making other recommendations to the Govt. regarding the working of the departments or measures to be introduced by the Govt. These committees shall meet from time to time during the session. They will also meet, if possible, during the off session to guide the work of Select Committees and Standing Committees. The Convenors of Party standing committees shall as far as possible be members of the Govt. standing committees.

Para 15. After the word 'Assembly' add 'or the Council of State'

Para 16. After the word 'President' add letter 's'
After the word 'Assembly' add 'and the Council of State'

Para 18. After the word 'Assembly' add 'or the Council of State'

Para 19. Delete '12' and substitute '18'

Para 21. Delete 'fifteen' substitute 'Twenty-four' delete 'five' and substitute 'nine'.

Para 29. After the word 'Assembly' add 'or the Council of State'

Para 30. After the word 'Leader' add letter 's'

Para 32. delete.

Delete paragraphs 14 and 17 also and renumber the other paragraphs.

Lajpat Rai

(LAJPAT RAI)
OFFICE SECRETARY.

New Delhi; the 19th February, 1947.

Dear Sardar Mangal Singh,

Please refer to your letter of the 18th February,1947, regarding appointments to the All India Radio.

2. As you are aware, we have already issued instructions regarding the rotation in which appointments are to be filled by various communities. In communicating our requirements to the Federal Public Service Commission, we ~~have made~~ make it clear that a particular post is to be filled by a representative of a particular community. Beyond this I am afraid it is not possible for us to interfere with the discretion of the Federal Public Service Commission.

3. I regret, therefore, it is not possible for me to do anything further in this matter.

Yours sincerely,

Sd. V.J. Patel.

Sardar Mangal Singh,
M.L.A.(Central),
5, Canning Lane,
NEW DELHI.

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5-Canning Lane
NEW DELHI: 18th Feb., '47.

Dear Sardar Sahib,

I want to draw your kind attention to the new recruitment of Station Directors, Assistant Directors, Listners Research Officers and others for the All India Radio which is coming very soon.

You will observe that the representation of the Sikhs in this Department is far from being adequate. I request to ensure that suitable candidates from among the Sikhs are recommended by the F.P.S.C. I can assure you that qualified Sikhs are available for the job.

I hope that you will personally look into the matter and take some steps to remedy the defects.

Yours sincerely,
Mangal Singh

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhai Patel,
Bar-at-Law,
Home Member of the Government of India.

Tel: 2987

Congress Party,
20, Council House,
New Delhi, the 11th Feb. 1947.

To

All the Members of the Congress Party.

Sir,

I beg to send you herewith second instalment on "Parliamentary practice". This note mainly concerns functions of Whips in the House of Commons.

Yours sincerely,
Lajpat Rai
(LAJPAT RAI)
Office Secretary.

Inside the House each party has a fairly elaborate organization, presided over by officials who are Members of the House and staffed by subordinate officials who are not Members. The Officers or Whips of the party in office consist of the Chief Whip who holds the official position of parliamentary or patronage secretary to the Treasury, three officers of the Household, and five lords of the Treasury with the addition of two or three Members who act as assistant Whips and who are unpaid.

The Whips of a party in opposition consist usually of the survivors of these who were Whips when it was in office together with as many other Members as may be selected for the purpose. The Government Whips and the Whips of the official opposition and of the second opposition party (when there is more than one party in opposition) have offices as near the Chamber as may be.

DUTIES OF WHIPS

The efficient and smooth running of the parliamentary machine depends largely upon the Whips. Certain duties are common to Whips of all parties, but by far the most important duties devolve upon the Government Chief Whip. He is concerned with mapping out the time of the session for applying in detail the Government s programme of business; for estimating the time likely to be required for each item, and for arranging the business of the individual sitting. A statement is made in the House, usually on Thursday, of the business to be taken in the following week. In drawing up the programme he is limited to a certain extent by the standing orders, which allot a medicum of time to private Members, and by statute law or standing order, which require, or may require, certain business to be completed by specified dates, as well as by certain conventions which make it obligatory upon him to consult the Whips of Opposition Parties and even to put down items of their selection. In carrying out his duties, he is directly responsible to the Prime Minister, as Leader of the House. It is also part of his duties to advise the Government on parliamentary business and procedure, and to maintain a close liaison with Ministers in regard to parliamentary business which affects their departments. He, together with the Chief Whips of other parties, constitutes what is known as the "usual channels", through which communications pass as to business arrangements and other matters which concern the convenience of Members as a whole.

The duties which are common to Whips of all parties are the following. They keep their Members supplied with information about the business of the House, secure the attendance of Members, arrange for their Members who are unable to attend divisions to "pair" with Members of the opposite side of the House so that their votes may be neutralized and not lost, and supply lists of Members to serve on standing and select committees. They also act as intermediaries between the leaders and rank and file of their parties in order to keep the former informed as to the trend of party opinion.

Tel: 2987.

CONGRESS PARTY,
20, Council House,
NEW DELHI.

191

February 15, 1947.

To

ALL THE MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE CONGRESS PARTY.

Sir,

I beg to advise the Hon'ble members of the Executive Committee that a meeting of that body will be held at 1.30 p.m. on Monday the 17th February, in Room No. 20, Council House, New Delhi and request you to kindly make it convenient to attend.

AGENDA.

*1. Industrial Disputes Bill.
2. Mr. Gokhale's bill to continue powers to exempt operations affecting ammunition, explosives etc. from certain restrictions.

**3. Hon'ble the Commerce Member's bill to continue powers to prohibit or control imports and exports.

***4. Mr. Bhalja's bill regarding use of armed forces in an emergency.

*5. Hon'ble the Finance Member's bill to amend * Reserve Bank of India.

%6. Motor Vehicles (2nd amendment) Act.
aa7. Panth Piploda Laws Regulation Amendment Act.
8. Indian Boilers Amendment Act.
£9. Indian Medical Council Amendment Act.
££10. Non-official resolutions.
11 Any other business which may be brought forward

Yours sincerely,

Rajpat Rai
(RAJPAT RAI)
OFFICIAL SECRETARY.

Copies to.
Special Committees
*, members of Party sub-committee on Industrial Disputes Bill.
, *, *, %, aa, £-Convenors of Commerce, Defence, Finance, * Railways & Transport, Agriculture, and Health Party sub-committees.

&& Khan Abdul Ghani Khan and Pt. Govind Malviya.

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NEW DELHI, 15.2.1947.

My dear Babu Satyanarain,

I am enclosing herewith a copy of my letter addressed to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and his reply thereto dated the 14th instant, for your information.

Yours sincerely,

Sri. Satyanarain Sinha,
33 Ferozeshah Road,
NEW DELHI.

CONFIDENTIAL.

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Tel: 2987

CONGRESS PARTY,
CENTRAL LEGISLATURE,
20, Council House,
NEW DELHI. Feb. 6, 1947.

file

No. 1/CIR/BUD/EXT.3

To

All the members of the Congress Party.

Sir,

I beg to forward third instalment of the important extracts of the minutes of proceedings of general body and executive committee. First and the second instalments were sent to you in November last.-

15. Resolved that the Party constitution as amended by the Constitution sub-committee of the Party be circulated amongst members and be placed for consideration before the general body of the Party to be held sometime in the 3rd week of February, and,

that the election of the office bearers and the members of the Executive Committee to be held at a general meeting of the Party in the 2nd week of March.

16. The suggestion of Mr. A.K. Menon regarding the election of the convenors of various standing committees of the Party to corresponding standing committees of the Legislature was considered and it was resolved that in future while selecting candidates from the Party for the various committees this suggestion should be borne in mind.

17. Resolved that Party subscription be fixed as follows.-

Rs. 125/- for the budget session.
Rs. 50/- for the autumn session.
Rs. 10/- per annum from each member towards entertainment fund.
Rs. 25/- from members of select committees meeting off the session.

Yours sincerely,

Jagjit Rai

(JAGJIT RAI)
OFFICE SECRETARY.

Tel: 2987.

CONGRESS PARTY,
Central Legislature,
20, Council House,
NEW DELHI. Feb. 6, 1947.

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TO THE MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESS PARTY.

Sir,

The position of the Central Govt./vis-a-vis the Central Legislature in India conforms to conditions in Great Britain. Therefore for the benefit of the members of the Congress Party I beg to reproduce below extracts from an illuminating article appearing in 'The New Statesman and Nation' of January 25.-

The end of the Recess is always unwelcome to a Government. Ministers can no longer concentrate on their Departments; and to the conflicts and anxieties of Whitehall and of the Cabinet are now added the uncertainties of Question Time and of Debate. Legislative speed depends very largely on the success of the Leader of the House in handling two potential storm centres, the Opposition and his own supporters.

In the present Parliament the the Opposition has not proved a very formidable opponent. This is due less to its numerical weakness than to the mastery which the Treasury bench has now achieved. The Opposition is not only out-numbered, but out-debated and out-manoeuvred. Ministers have shown wisdom in conciliating the Opposition on occasions when they could have overridden it. Thereby they have saved parliamentary time by removing the chief cause of organised obstruction from the other side of the House. The Government has established firm but cordial relations through the usual channels; and in each Thursday's discussion of business - a symbolic trial of strength -Mr. Morrison has proved that a Cockney David's sling is a match for the Churchilian panoply. For this side of his work the Leader of the House deserves a good deal more praise than he sometimes gets from supporters who fail to realise how much goodwill would have been forfeited by an unfair exploitation of the Opposition's weakness.

There is a surprising contrast, however, between the Govt's handling of the Opposition and of its own supporters. Towards the former it has shown patience, tact and diplomacy; in dealing with the latter it has too often been inclined to take loyalty for granted so long as things go smoothly and to rely on the Whip when they go badly. ....Genuine and deeply felt differences divided the Govt. from the framers of the "Grand-Remonstrace" (here reference is to recent rebellion on foreign policy); but it is possible that a public explosion might have been averted if the Prime Minister and Mr.Morrison had realised that confidence must be a two-way relationship.

Mr. Morrison will no doubt reply that he hasbeen the prime mover in the relaxation of Standing Orders and in the formation of Party Groups. He could retort that it is difficult for a Minister to talk frankly at a Party or group meeting in the morning when he knows that he will read a verbatim report of his speech in the 'Evening Standard' (fortunately this is not so in India).

The Labour Party, inside and outside the House, has always been more disciplined than the Conservatives. Trade Union experience has made it impatient of minorities, and its leaders are well versed in exploiting a written constitution in order to suppress incipient revolt. To the traditional demand for conformity is now added the parliamentary principle that a Cabinet is responsible not to its supporters, but to the whole House. In opposition, Socialist back benchers were at least able to elect their own Front Bench, to assist in the formulation of policy and to take extensive part in Debate. In the present Parliament they can claim no such rights. Their two duties are to vote and to hold their tongues.

Under these conditions a sense of frustration is inevitable. Government supporters must watch in silence; the active participation

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on debate of Tory members with only a fraction of their ability. Sometimes-but much more rarely than a year ago-they must listen in silence to an incompetent presentation of the Socialist case. Long hours of enforced attendance under these conditions very easily produce a mood in which revolt seems the only method of self-expression.

What could be done to ease this sense of frustration? ..... The back benchers cannot hope except by open revolt to exercise power. Their claim must be for influence alone. But do not the weekly Party meetings and the Groups provide just those channels through which influence can best be exerted? Experience indicates that they do not. Despite a vast improvement in the conduct of business under the chairmanship of Maurice Webb, a meeting of several hundred members is too unwieldy for serious discussion - and too leaky as well. Moreover, once an important issue is formally raised in the Party Meeting, the Govt. is almost bound to make it a matter of confidence. The minority is faced with the dilemma of either challenging the Govt. on the floor of the House, or withdrawing ignominiously. Nor do the Party Groups at present fulfil a very useful task. They are too large and too heterogeneous either to win the confidence of Ministers, or to discuss coherently. One or two groups have functioned effectively. The Finance Group, for instance, which is really composed of experts, works harmoniously with the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Civil Aviation Group early came into conflict with Lord Winster and Ivor Thomas organised opposition to them on the floor of the House and had the satisfaction of seeing new Ministers take their place. But, broadly speaking, instead of reducing frustration, the groups have increased it.

The most obvious way to improve relations would be for Ministers to encourage well-informed participation in debate. The Opposition, like the Labour Opposition in past Parliaments, works without any rigid separation between the Front and the Back Benches. The Govt. relies exclusively on the Front Bench for the presentation of its case. Ministers might well regard their supporters as useful light artillery in big debates, and supply some of them with ammunition. Consultation, for instance, between Mr. Barrow and those back-benchers ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ interested in transport would have greatly improved the debate on the Transport Bill. Well-briefed Govt. supporters could put ~~xxxx~~ spirit into the debate by immediately replying to Tory attacks. At present such briefing is unobtainable, and the task of answering the Opposition is left to the Front Bench.

In the second place, all Ministers have long ago recognised the need for intimate relations with journalists. They spend much time and some times take considerable risks in briefing correspondents "off the record" so as to ensure a fair statement of their case in the press. But no corresponding service is provided for Labour M.P.'s who are far less in the picture than the press gallery. Wise Ministers are selective in their contacts with journalists, and say much more in private than in full conference. No doubt it can be argued that a journalist's livelihood depends on keeping confidences and that a Minister has no guarantee that frank talk with a Party group would be equally respected. But if these fears are justified then the conclusion must ~~xx~~ surely be that the groups must be so reconstructed that all of them, ~~xxx~~ instead of a very few, enjoy the full confidence of the Minister. A 'good Party' is at least as important to the Govt. as a 'good press'.

Consider one or two concrete examples. The Bill to nationalise iron and steel is not due till the next Session. Is surely is the time for John Wilmot to gather round him a small group of M.P.'s-some of them perhaps with no previous knowledge-who are prepared to study the steel industry intensively and to begin preparing themselves for the debate on the Second Reading. The same principle applies to conscription. So far, the Govt. has not made a very strong case for this measure, which will anyway meet with strong opposition in the Labour movement. Mr. Alexander would surely be wise to consult with some of his critics, and by frank discussion to obtain some really well-informed support~~xx~~ from the

the back-benchers well before the debate. If he leaves this task until the Bill is tabled, he is asking for trouble.

The Leader of the House would be wise to give a good deal of his attention to this problem of the relations of the Govt. with its supporters. Formal machinery of consultation is not enough. What is needed isthe acceptance by Ministers generally of three principles; first, the 'off the record' discussions are as necessary with back benchers as with the press; second, that such discussions should be regarded not merely as an arduous addition to Ministerial duties, but as a source of positive assistance; and third, that M.P.'s like journalists, are usually trustworthy, just to the degree to which they are trusted.

2. Below I beg to detail a few notes on United State legislatures and hope you will find them of interest.-

(a) THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

A number of States have established an agency known as the Legislative Council. This is composed of members of the legislature, in reality a committee on legislation, and a research staff. The purpose of the Council is to study existing and proposed legislation, particularly when the legislature is not in session and prepare reports and recommendations on such legislation. Such Councils have proved most successful in studies of matter on which party or partisan politics are not crystallised. It is the business of the Legislative Council to survey a problem of legislation, and to make recommendations for several alternative methods of achieving a legislative objective, thus presenting to the legislative several well-thought out programmes and giving to the legislature the result of expert investigation.

(b)LEGISLATIVE REFERENCE SERVICES.

Most States have established a Legislative Reference Service for the use of all members of the Legislature. This service does two things.-

1. It provides research assistance to the individual legislator in preparation of speeches, getting information regarding proposed legislation, obtaining information for constituents; and

2. It provides expert assistance in drafting legislative measures.

This latter service has become increasingly important, since a legal expert is needed to draft proper and effective laws. This service is given freely to all legislators, regardless of part affiliation with funds provided by legislative appropriation.

(c) JOINT COMMITTEE SYSTEM.

In Massachusetts and New York, constitutional amendments have provided that the number of committee in both houses of the Legislature be reduced and that the principal standing committee of both houses meet in joint session to consider and act on proposed legislation. In this manner much time is saved and many difficulties arising in separate committee action onlegislation are avoided.

Yours sincerely,

Lajpat Rai

(LAJPAT RAI)
OFFICE SECRETARY.

Tel: 2987

CONGRESS ASSEMBLY PARTY,
20, Council House,
NEW DELHI.

Nov. 6, 1946.

To

All the members of the Congress Assembly Party.

Dear Friend,

I have been directed to inform you that there would be a general meeting of the Congress Assembly Party in Room No. 63, Council House, FIVE minutes after the House rises on Thursday the 7th Nov. 1946, and request you to kindly make it convenient to attend.-

Agenda.

1. Non-official resolutions.
2. Any other matter which may be brought up.

Yours sincerely,

Lajpat Rai

(LAJPAT RAI)
OFFICE SECRETARY.

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CONGRESS ASSEMBLY PARTY,
20, Council House,
NEW DELHI.

CIR/4/Aut. Oct. 27, 1946.

TO ALL THE MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESS ASSEMBLY PARTY.

Dear Friend,

I have been directed to inform you that there would be a general meeting of the Party on Monday the 28th October five minutes after the house rises in Room No. 63 and request you to kindly make it convenient to attend. Congress Ministers of the Interim Govt. have also been requested to attend.

Agenda.

1. Confirm Minutes of Executive Committee meeting.
2. Resolutions on the death of
   (a) late Sjt. Bhulabhai Desai.
   (b) late Sir Hasan Suhrawardy.
3. Seating arrangements for Party members.

Yours sincerely,

Lajpat Rai

OFFICE SECRETARY.

Copies to:-

All the Hon'ble members of the Interim Govt. excepting those nominated by the Muslim League, with a request to attend the General Meeting.

Sit: Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel.

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Government of India,
LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT.

...

New Delhi, the 26th October, 1946.

Memorandum.

The number of the seat allotted to the Honourable Member in the Legislative Assembly Chamber is 3.

G.H.Spence.
Secretary to the Govt. of India.

To

The Honourable Sardar Ballabhbhai Patel.

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Government of India,
LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT.

...

New Delhi, the 26th October, 1946.

NOTIFICATION.

No.F.14-I/46-C.&.G. In pursuance of the provisions of sub-section (4) of section 63E of the Government of India Act, as set out in the Ninth Schedule to the Government of India Act, 1935, and of the provisions of sub-rule (2) of rule 26 of the Legislative Assembly Electoral Rules, the Governor General is pleased to nominate the following members of his Executive Council to be members of the Legislative Assembly:-

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru,
The Honourable Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan,
The Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel,
The Honourable Mr. I.I. Chundrigar,
The Honourable Mr. M. Asaf Ali,
The Honourable Sri C. Rajagopalachari,
The Honourable Shri Jagjivan Ram.

G.H.SPENCE.
SECRETARY TO THE GOVT. OF INDIA.

P.T.O.

No.F.14-I/46-C.&.G.

Copy forwarded to the Honourable Sardar Vallbhbhai Patel, for information.

D. Majumdar.

for Asstt. Secretary to the Govt. of India.

9 Canning lane
New Delhi
13/X
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Omy dear sardar Patel,

I have received the enclosed letter from the frontier sikhs. Kindly go through it and ask the Frontier Congress People to behave.

Yours sincerely
Mangal Singh
M.L.A.

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ੴ ਸਤਿ ਗੁਰਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ॥

Offices:

Telephone No. 354

Gurdwara Committee Bhai Joga Singh Ji,

PESHAWAR.

No.

Dated 7th October 1946

Honourable

Sir,

The Panthic party has joind hands with the congress at the centre and has formed a coalition ministry in the Punjab as well. But in the Frontier province the congress Government policy is anti -Panthic workers and institutions are suffering hardships at the hands of the Government officials.

A grave injustice has recently been done to the Gurdwaras by cancelling their permanent quota of sugar. We submitted a number of applications to the minister of supplies Homable Qazi Atta-Ullah K. and waited upon him in the form of a deputation, but he has turned a deafear to our legitimate and genuine demands. Our M.L.As two of whom have been returned on the congress ticket, have also failed in getting our quota restored. The Sikh public of the Province is greatly perturbed over this step-motherly and discriminative treatment. The entire Muslim population of the Province was given double rations of of sugar during the month of Ramzan whereas we were not granted sugar even on the matyrdom day of Siri Guru Arjan DavJi.

The minister of supplies in order to escape criticism ordered the stoppage of sugar for Gurdwaras, Mandirs and Mosques, but everybody knows that mandirs and mosques do not require any sugar. It effects only the Gurdwaras.

In the circumstances we are compelled to approach you to help us and guide us. We know that the Gurdwaras in the Punjab are getting sugar quotas, and therefore it would be a great injustice if the Frontier Gurdwaras are deprived of sugar for preparing Kara-Parshad.

In our latest interview with the Homable minister, we [redacted] agreed to accept reduced quantity of [redacted] only for the Gurdwaras, where regular daily gatherings (Kirtan) are held in order to cope with the sugar shortage . But inspite of all our efforts the Govt is not going to restore our quota.

We do not wish to divert your attention to our local trouble, but are compelled to do so. If you find some opportunity, please do help us, so that the frontier congress government may not put us to unnecessary hardships.

Yours obediently,
President
Gurdwara Bhai Joga Singh Sahib

Copy to
1. Hon'ble Sawran Singh Development minister
2. Master Tara Singh
3. S. Mangal Singh

U L MURADABAD 4 55.

KINDLY GRANT INTERVIEW SUNDAY VERY URGENT MATTER REGARDING CENTRAL DELHI ELECTIONS FOR QUO ACCEPT MYSELF CONGRESS CANDIDATE MY SERVICES UNPARALLED QUA BY AT PRESENT PRESIDENT HINDUSABHA ELDEST CONGRESSMAN DISGRACEFUL LOCAL POLITICS NECESSITATE SERVING HINDUSABHA VISITED JAIL SEVERAL TIMES PLAYED IMPORTANT PAR IN 1942 PLEASE LOOK MY PAPERS BEFORE ACCEPTING WITH DATE TIME READY JOINING CONGRESS

... RAMDUTTMALL ADVOCATE.

MK.LN.40.

204

[redacted]

1, Aurangzeb Road,
New Delhi,
7th Octr.1946.

Dear Friend,

I have received your letter of the 2nd instant.

Your proposal about nominating Mr. K.A. Desai was received after the appointment was announced and it was too late to be placed before the Parliamentary Board for consultation. It is to be regretted that nothing can be done in the matter now.

Yours sincerely,

Sd.

Sri. Moon Karan Kedia,
69, Gadodia Market,
D E L H I.

Framed
7/10

TELE { GRAM : GAIN.
PHONE : 6918.

CODE - BENTLEY'S COMPLETE PHRASE CODE
A.B.C. 6TH EDITION & OTHER PRIVATE CODE.

Noon Karan Kedia

EXPORTERS, IMPORTERS, BANKERS.
MERCHANTS, MANUFACTURERS' REPRESENTATIVES
AND
COMMISSION AGENTS

Specialist in :—
SPICES, DRY FRUITS,
DRN. PIECE GOODS
AND
GENERAL MERCHANDISE Etc.

69, GADODIA MARKET,
Delhi
(INDIA)

205

2.10.46. 194

The Chairman and members of the Parliamentary
Boaerd All India Congress Committee,
DELHI.

Dear Sir,

I take leave to submit to you the name of Mr. K.A. Desai a well known oldest Congress worker for the Assembly seat now vacant at Delhi owing to the resignation of Mr. Asafali.

A small synopsis of his owork in the congress field is attached hereto for your information

Yours faithfully,
Noon Karan Kedia

Mr. K.A. Desai Joined Congress in 1896 i.e. 50 years back worked in the organisation of the Congress sessions of the following places.

Ahmedabad 1902. Bombay 1905 in full charge 1907 Surat 1918 Delhi erection of Pandal and office.

1919 Amritsar Pandal and general charge, 1922 at Ahmedabad in charge Punjab Camp.

Attended nearly 25 sessions of the Congress. Member All India Congress Committee from 1920 onwards for some years in Punjab.

Chairman reception Committee Ambala division Conference which was attended by Mahatma Ji and many other top leaders. Did work in the non Cooperation movement from 1920 to 1935 at Bhiwani Hissar Rohtak and the Ambala division.

A Prominent worker at Delhi from 1918 to 1921 in the Rowlet Act agitation Martial law cases and subsequent events. He was a coworker with Swami Shradhanand Dr. Ansari and Hakim saheb.

A well known worker in Punjab and Delhi politics Silent worker uses Khadar and knows Charkha Spinning Graduate Journalist and a good speaker in English Hindi and Gujrati.

Appeard as Delhi witness before Hinter Committee Martial law committee and Indudtrial Commission.

207

22Prithvi Raj Road,
New-Delhi.
3.10.46.

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I am also in favour of Deshbandhu's selection. The announcement may be made on the 5th, not today, as in the meanwhile I would call the Jamiat people and let them understand the situation.

Yours sincerely,

A. R. Baig

The Honourable
Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New-Delhi.

xxxxxxxxxx
xxxxxxx
1 Aurangazeb Road,
New Delhi, 3.10.1946.

My dear Maulana Sahib,

I have received a letter from the Delhi Provincial Congress Committee Office forwarding the names of Lala Desh Bandhu Gupta and Dr. Yudhvir Singh, Member, Provincial Congress Committee and Municipal Commissioner for selection of a nominee for the Central Assembly seat created vacant by the appointment of Mr. Asaf Ali as Member of the Interim Govt. The Committee wants our decision immediately and the announcement is to be made today.

The Committee has left it to us to select between the two candidates, and I propose to select Lala Desh Bandhu Gupta and to announce it this evening, in case I do not hear anything from you to the contrary. If you have to suggest any change, please inform me immediately.

Yours sincerely,

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad,
c/o The Hon'ble Mr. Asaf Ali,
New Delhi.

TELEPHONE : 6857

TELE:—

Delhi Provincial Congress Committee

दिल्ली प्रान्तीय कांग्रेस कमेटी, बल्लीमारान, चांदनी चौक, देहली।

دهلی صوبہ کانگریس کمیٹی- بلیماران چاندنی چوک- دهلی

Ballimaran,
CHANDNI CHOWK,
DELHI

No. G/Gen/1092

DELHI.....2nd October....1946

Member-in-Charge,
Central Parliamentary Board,
All India Congress Committee Camp,
Delhi.

Dear friend,

I am directed to say that the Executive Committee of the Delhi provincial Congress Committee has in its meeting dated the 1st October 1946, decided to forward the following two names for the consideration of the Central Parliamentary Board for the candidature of the membership of the Central Legistature in the seat vacated by Mr. Asaf Ali.

(a) Lala Desh Bandhu Gupta, Member Constituent Assembly, 5, Keeling Road, New Delhi. (Bihar).

(b) Dr. Yudhvir Singh, Member Provincial Congress Committee and Municipal Commissioner, Chandni Chowk, Kucha Brij Nath, Delhi.

2. It was brought to the notice of this Committee

P.T.O.

TELEPHONE : 6857 TELE:— 210

Delhi Provincial Congress Committee

दिल्ली प्रान्तीय कांग्रेस कमेटी, बल्लीमारान, चांदनी चौक, देहली।

دهلی صوبہ کانگریس کمیٹی- بلیماران چاندنی چوک- دهلی

Ballimaran,
CHANDNI CHOWK,
DELHI.....194

No.....

Committee that the Jamait-ul-Ulmai Hind is also contemplating to seek Congress ticket for its candidature. In the absence of the formal approach from that quarter, however, it was not possible to make any definite recommendation in this connection.

Yours sincerely,
Brahmprakash

General Secretary,
Provincial Congress Committee, Delhi

There were three names before the Committee,

1. L. Deshbandhu Gupta a well-known Congressman who had sent in an application, which is attached.

2. Dr. Yudhvir Singh also a well-known Congressman about whom it was stated that if applications were invited, he would be prepared to apply.

3. Mr. B.B.Banerji, an Advocate of the Federal Court, who was a prominent member of the local Hindu Mahasabha recently.

It was also pointed out to the Committee that the Jamiatul Ulema would like to put up a candidate (though no formal approach was made to the Committee) if Mr. Asaf Ali's seat on the Constituent Assembly was to fall vacant, because they are interested in the Constituent Assembly and not in the Legislative Assembly. In these circumstances the Committee resolved to send up the following names only:-

1. L. Deshbandhu Gupta
2. Dr. Yudhvir Singh

and left it to the Central Parliamentary Board to accept either of them.

A. Asaf Ali
President, D.P.C.C.
2.1.46

Immediate

P.S. Nominations have to be filed on the 9th Oct. & therefore it is essential that the Parliamentary Board's decision should be announced today.

A. Asaf Ali,

Mr Ram Subedar wishes to see H.E. sometime tomorrow or on Saturday. If H.E. will indicate his time, I will telephone to Mr Subedar.

3.10.46

H.E.

Tomorrow Saturday at 12-M. for lunch.

Mr. Ram Subedar has been informed by me over the telephone.

4/10

Mr. Van Dyan

TELEPHONE: 26372
TELEGRAMS: CROWNALUCO

KODAK HOUSE,
HORNBY ROAD, FORT,
BOMBAY 19

Telephone
7857

31, Canning Lane, New Delhi,
3rd October 1946.

My dear Sardarsaheb,

I desire to take advantage of my visit to Delhi during the next five days to receive instructions from you as to what must be done in the Assembly and outside by men like me to help you and your colleagues in the Government. Hitherto I criticised the foreign administration as well as the nominated Councillors, pointing out in matters chiefly relating to finance, industry and commerce, how and where Indian interests were sacrificed. Now [illegible], instead of critibising, we have to make suggestions to Members of Government, drawing their attention to those features of the past administration, which still work against the interests of India.

Not only has the relation of leading men in the Assembly with Members of Government to be established on a new basis, but the relation of a person like me, who, apart from being a member of the Assembly, has continuously watched the course of finance, industry and commerce and who is in a position to give valuable advice, has to be indicated, so that no misunderstanding arises on the part either of Members of Government or of myself.

The problem is important and immediate, because questions have to be asked in the Assembly, and on these three topics in the past my questions were both numerous as well as substantial. I am feeling great hesitation in volunteering

suggestions to Members of Government, and probably they would feel some hesitation in calling upon me to give them the benefit of my considered thought on any outstanding problem, on which they have to make a judgment in the next few months.

I am sure this is an issue, in which you can guide both parties. Some of us would like the present administration to succeed in all respects and would like, for patriotic reasons, to offer the fullest help towards that object. We wish to do the proper thing and neither to overdo it, nor to withhold full co-operation out of a misconceived notion of isolation. Perhaps you have already discussed this topic in the Cabinet.

I should like to come and see you sometime tomorrow or day after (Friday or Saturday) when you have a little free time and when you are by yourself. If you will kindly ask your P.A. to telephone in the above number giving the message, I shall come over at the time suggested.

Yours sincerely,

Mann Subedar

Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai J. Patel,
Home Department, Government of India,
New Delhi.

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VALLABHBHAI PATEL.

No.1, Aurangazeb Road,
New Delhi, 21st Septr. 1946.

My dear Manubhai,

I have received your letter of the 17th inst.

I agree with you entirely that the communal virus has gone much deeper and it has caused irreparable damage both to our prestige and to the future economic life of the country, as a result of which the poor will suffer more and then those who led them,, but the country has to go through this purgatory and there is no escape. We are doing our best to re-establish mutual goodwill, but it requires to play the game. One party cannot do it, however much it may have the will to do so.

I have received many complaints about the Broadcasting Department and it will take some time before I can deal with them. However, I shall do my best to see that the suggestions you have made are attended to.

Yours sincerely,

Sd/

Manu Subedar Esq., M.L.A.,
Kodak House,
Hornby Road, Fort,
B O M B A Y.

Answered 22/9

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KODAK HOUSE,
HORNBY ROAD, FORT.

TELEPHONE: 26372
TELEGRAMS: CROWNALUCO

BOMBAY 17th Septr. 19 46

My dear Sardarsaheb,

The glad feeling on my finding power in the hands of our people is much softened by the Hindu/Muslim issue. Before the economic ties between Muslims and Hindus are completely broken up (which would affect many innocent persons in both sections adversely), it is very desirable that substantial political concessions should be made in order to induce co-operation. The period of ten years or more intervening before the next constitutional revision occurs, would be long enough to deal with issues piecemeal as they come. I put it to you as my humble judgment for what it is worth, that Pakistan may or may not come after the intervening period of ten or more years. But the type of wanton destruction of life and property, which is arising in the present situation, should be avoided, and the scope for the re-establishment of mutual goodwill should not be completely wiped out.

I thought of writing to you today with a view to help with regard to the Broadcasting Department, which is under your charge. I would not advise any major changes at the moment and I would particularly request you to keep clear of the Urdu-Hindi and/other controversies as well as the fact that a large number of Muslims (not all of them were deserving) are making a comfortable living out of the Broadcasting Department.

The non-controversial part is what I have been urging in the Assembly for many years, viz. that Indian money is used on European music and plenty of time on the broadcasting at all stations is devoted to English language and English music, which the bulk of the licenceholders do not appreciate and do not want.

Those, who want English music, can turn on to London or any Continental station.

English children's talk, English book reviews and other English talks as well as relaying from B.B.C. (except the news) are also waste of public funds in India.

Those concerned with English music and other features are actually paid a lot more than those concerned with the Indian music, and the result is only an inferior copy of European music.

The manner in which I would suggest this should be tackled is to reduce English programmes at all stations by half hour to one hour every day, automatically reducing both the costs and the distraction to those who do not want such programmes. This added time could be devoted to enlarged features of Indian music and Indian talks.

On these lines a small immediate improvement would not be at all amiss. Please note that this does not refer to news in English both from London as well as from Delhi.

I was invited to the Trade Policy Committee's meeting, but have not been able to come. I am, however, likely to be in Delhi sometime towards the end of this month.

Yours sincerely,

Mann Subedar

ग. बा. मावळंकर
बी. ए., एल. एल. बी., एम. एल. ए.
स्पीकर-बम्बई लेजिस्लेटिव असेंब्ली

अमदावाद ता. १५/८/३७
दफ्तर-भद्दर
निवास-सेवा कुटीर, महाराष्ट्र सोसायटी, एलिस ब्रिज

216

श्री

१९५८
३७

[illegible]

215

VALLABHBHAI PATEL.

No.1, Aurangzeb Road,
New Delhi, 21.9.1946.

My dear Mavlankar,

I have received your letters of the 11th and the 16th.

I am afraid I cannot leave this place for the present. We are not yet settled here properly. The League is manoeuvring for a settlement; and if it comes about, we will have to reconstruct the whole thing, and if it does not come about, a situation may arise which would require my presence here. You must, therefore, excuse me for my inability to accept the invitation for laying the foundation of the building.

I see from your second letter that you have made several engagements and you are not free to come here. I would not like to disturb your important engagements. We have fixed the 28th October for the Assembly sessions and you will have to come some time before. You have to make the acquaintance of our new team and they would naturally like to know you also. Please write to me when you are coming.

Hope you are doing well.

Yours sincerely,

Sd.

The Hon'ble Mr. G.V.Mavlankar,
"Seva Kutir",
Maharashtra Society,
Ellis Bridge, AHMEDABAD.

Issued
23/9/46

ग. वा. मावळंकर
बी. ए., एल. एल. बी., एम. एल. ए.
स्पीकर–बम्बई लेजिस्लेटिव असेम्ब्ली

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अमदावाद ता. ५।

दफ्तर–अहमद
निवास–सेवा कुटीर, महाराष्ट्र सोसायटी,–एलिस ब्रिज

नं. फ-१९३५

श्री [illegible]

[illegible]

[redacted] કરવા. આમાં બે ગામડાં આવી જાય [redacted]
[redacted] ગામડાં મળી ૩ પોલીસ [redacted]
આવ્યું. પોલીસ મથકની જવાબદારી વધી. મોટું ૩ કે
૬૨૫ ગામડાંના પોલીસ (ગામડાંની, ગરીબી, ટાંકણાં) પણ
કેટલાંક ગામડાં પણ - ઉપરાંતમાં ૩૦ - ઉપરાંતમાં ગામડાં
ગામડાં મોટાં ગામડાં વધતાં ૩૦ નવું પણ પોલીસ - વધુમાં
૮૮ ગામડાં બદલી વધારાનું પોલીસ - કરવામાં ૩૦ - વધારો
કે ગામડાંમાં ટેકરા કબ્રસ્તાન, ગામ બજારમાંથી ગામડાં, ૩૬ ગામડાંમાંથી
કે ૮૮ ગામડાં પોલીસ વધારવું પોલીસ - કરવામાં ૩૦ - વધારો
વધારે ગામ પોલીસ - કામકાજ ઉપરાંત વધારવું ૩૦ પોલીસ ના
ઉપરાંત ગામ પોલીસ - કામકાજ ઉપરાંત વધારવું ૩૦ પોલીસ ના
વધારવું ગામ પોલીસ - કામકાજ ઉપરાંત વધારવું ૩૦ પોલીસ ના
વધારવું ગામ પોલીસ - કામકાજ ઉપરાંત વધારવું ૩૦ પોલીસ ના
વધારવું ગામ પોલીસ - કામકાજ ઉપરાંત વધારવું ૩૦ પોલીસ ના
વધારવું ગામ પોલીસ - કામકાજ ઉપરાંત વધારવું ૩૦ પોલીસ ના
વધારવું ગામ પોલીસ - કામકાજ ઉપરાંત વધારવું ૩૦ પોલીસ ના
વધારવું ગામ પોલીસ - કામકાજ ઉપરાંત વધારવું ૩૦ પોલીસ ના

Dear Mr. Parker -

I am writing to you on behalf of the Indian Association of Cleveland. We are a group of about 200 families who have been living in Cleveland for the past 5-6 years. Most of us are professionals working in various companies in the area. We have been trying to get a Consulate established in Cleveland for a long time. Recently we met with John Thomas (Asst. Secretary) and Mr. Ramesh Bhatia (Consul General) in Chicago. They suggested that we write to you. We have been told that the Consulate will be established in Cleveland if we can show that there is a need for it. We have been told that we need to show that there are enough Indian citizens in Cleveland who would benefit from the Consulate. We have been told that we need to show that there are enough Indian citizens in Cleveland who would benefit from the Consulate. We have been told that we need to show that there are enough Indian citizens in Cleveland who would benefit from the Consulate.

કેમ છો બધા ચન્દ્રની રમણાની વધુ યાદ આવતી ?

બીજું સમાચાર એમના એ મોટી ઉપાધિ થઈ - કુટુંબ
કેમ્પમાં ૬-૭ માર્ચ બધા માણસ સ્મૃત કેદીમાં એ - એમને
પોલીસવાળી ખબર દઈ એ - મોટી ધરપકડ કોઈ બાકી રાખે એમ
નથી. વકીલોના ટોળાના ટોળા થયા. કુટુંબ એમના John Thomas ને
(ડૉક્ટર મિત્ર) ૧૫/૮ અમદાવાદ મોકલ્યા રાખ્યા - એમને
૧૨ માસની કેદ ફરમાવી. બીજા ૨૨ માણસોને કેદ
અમદાવાદ ગયા છે. આ બધા Citizen Representative
એ. કર્ણ અમારા ઉપર આક્ષેપ એ - કે Communal feeling
વધારો ~~કર્યો~~ કર્યો ! ને કેદ આપું કરીએ. મોટી આગ
ઠારવા માંડી. એમ આપણા કેદનું અમારું કર્યું બોલવા જેવું
કરું. ઘરમાં બધું કુશળ કેદ કામ - બાકી ગોર ગામડાંમાં ફરવા
ગયા બોલપુરી બાજુ - બધું Political ખામાં ફરીશું બુધવે?
આ બાજુ બીજા બધા બાકી બધું ને કુશળ - બોલવા ચાલવા
પાછા ૧૫/૮ અમદાવાદ આવશે એ દર્શ ને બધા ઉપાધિમાં બાકી એ.
મા. Arts Block - પ્રાર્થનાસભાના બીજીવારના બાકી બાકી એ
ઠાકોરદાસ બીજા. બાકી બધાજીનું બોલવા કે બધા કુશળના
બીજાઓ બોલવા બીજા. ઘરે બધું કુશળ
ગાંધીજી

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New Delhi, 21.9.1946.

My dear Seth Govind,

I had your letter of the 13th instant.

You must have learnt already that we have decided to extend the life of your House for a year more, and you will be glad that you have been relieved of the trouble of elections. Let us hope that by the end of the year the new Constitution will be framed, in which the position of your House will be finally decided.

Yours sincerely,

Sd.

The Hon'ble Mr. G.S. Motilal,
"Shri Sadan",
15, Narayan Dabholkar Road,
Malabar Hill, BOMBAY. 6.

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Camp: Birla House,
N.Delhi.
15th Sept.46

My dear Satyanarayan,

I have received your letter of the 9th inst. We are thinking of calling the Assembly meeting on the 28th of next month and I hope we shall meet soon. We have yet to cross many hurdles but if we stand firm and deal with all people justly, everything will be alright.

Hope you are doing well.

Yours sincerely,

Shri Satya Narayan Sinha,
M.L.A.(Central),
Village & Post. Shambhoo Patti,
Dist. Dharbhanga.
(Bihar)

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टेलीफोन : ४१९९०
तार : उत्साह

Telephone : 41990
Telegram: UTSAH

माननीय श्री गोविन्दलाल
शिवलाल मोतीलाल
श्री सदन,
१५, नारायण दाभोलकर रोड,
मलाबार हिल बम्बई.

The Honble Mr. G. S Motilal
SHRI SADAN,
15, Narayan Dabholkar Road,
Malbar Hill, BOMBAY 6.

13-9- 1946.

My dear Sardar Saheb,

Your kind letter of 4th. inst. was received here on 9th. and came to my hand yesterday on my return from Poona.

The sanction of the Secretary of State under the present conditions is a mere formality. This requirement need not deter our Govt. from redeeming the Council of State from its present melancholy state. As this House is ripe for election, this is the proper time to change its composition and make it a more representative body for the interregnum during which it is to survive untill the new constitution comes into operation. It would be undesirable to keep the composition of the Council as at is even for a short period.

Yours Sincerely,
Govindlal
S. Motilal

Satya Narayan Sinha
M.L.A.(Central)

Vill & Post. Shambhoo Patti
Dt. Darbhanga.
Bihar
9/9.

Respected Sardar ji

Reached here quite safe. I had some temperature when I had left Delhi, but I was able to shake it off in the way.

I get the reports of your work through press & I really feel proud & elevated.

When I think of the affection & kindness which you have always shown me & the way you have encouraged me so far, I feel overwhelmed.

I have not known any Political leader, being so solicitous about his lieutenant, as your self. This is the reason that you have got such a great allegiance of your followers.

When I remember all this, I get rid of all my worries & anxieties. So long as you are there, why should I worry for myself?

Kindly convey my best compliments to Sri Mani Ben. I shall be reaching Delhi God willing, by the 23rd inst.

With kindest regards
Yours obt
Satya Narayan

P.O. Oel; 223
Dt. Lakhimpur Kheri
(Oudh)
7th. Sept. 1946.

Dear Sardar Patel,

I do not want to encroach upon your busy time; but the object of my writing this letter is to convey to you my desire to be nominated as a Member of the Central Legislative Assembly; and failing that on the Council of State, if its term is to be further extended.

My object is to revive the "Abolition of Capital Punishment" Bill which I had introduced in the Central Assembly when I was a Member of it; but

Then why not give me
a chance on purely
public grounds to try
and complete my work,
if possible? I have
written to a few of your
Colleagues also. After all,
the approval of the governor
general is a mere formality.
I may be visiting Delhi
shortly, and will try to
see you. But I cannot do
much to what I have
already written in this
letter. yours sincerely,

Gaya Prasad Singh
(B.A., B.L.)
P.O. Oel,
[Telegraph Office: Oel O.T. Ry.]
Dt. Lakhimpur Kheri.
(Oudh).

Camp: Birla House,
New Delhi.
30th Aug. 1946.

Dear friend,

I have received your letter of the 26th inst. There are many important questions awaiting us and those suggested in your letter are also amongst them. It will take some time for us to get a grasp of the situation and see how the surroundings suit us. The atmosphere in which the Government apparatus has worked up to now is quite different and we go there with a different outlook altogether. Adjustments will be necessary to evolve a different atmosphere so that a popular government can function with efficiency.

The question of legislation in September is impossible. We have not yet seen what work awaits us because there is a lot of accumulation. Some of our colleagues are not in a fit state of health and some are not free to take charge immediately. Under the circumstances, no immediate legislation, however important or urgent, may be taken up in September.

The question of checking inflation to bring back the inflated currency to its proper level is a different one and we shall require considerable expert help before any action can be taken. Unfortunately in the matter of taking steps, experts differ. But

we shall do our best as soon as possible.

Yours sincerely,

Shri D.P.Karmarkar, M.L.A.(Central),
DHARWAR.

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Dharwar,

26th August 1946.

Dear Sardarji,

Now that the ~~Provincial~~ Provisional National Government is about to assume office, a large number of administrative problems awaiting solution will rise up. I have respectfully to make the following suggestions for your kind consideration.

1). During the war numerous controls were imposed and the large direction vested in officials has been abused and ultimately people have had to suffer on account of official corruption. These controls naturally fall into two catagories (1) those that were the direct necessities peculiarly on account of the War conditions (2) those imposed to maintain essential supplies. The former naturally end with the emergency. As Regards the latter there is likely to be a tendency in the Secretariat to maintain a number of controls which may not be really essential. For instance there is no need now to maintain any control regarding i.e. Kerosene when supply now almost equalised pre-war supply or Paper which may not be available in sufficient quantities but its decontrol would not dislocate normal life. I have therefore to suggest that except in matter of food stuffs, and possibly cloth all other controls should be lifted. And even for taking powers regarding food and cloth it is better that legislation is resorted to in the normal manner and not the Governor General's ordinance - making power. A short Session of the legislature, say for a week, may be necessary before 30th September for this purpose.

2) One of the principal factors underlying the present almost universal economic restlessness in the country is the rise of prices, unequalled even in belligerent countries like Brittain and U. S. A. Hence also the imminence of strikes of workers belonging to the lower cadre. The principal reason of the rise in prices is not primarily the scarcity of commodities as is sometimes supposed but the disastrous inflation of currency (again unparallelled here as compared with any other country) during the War. If prices have to be stabilised, this inflation has to be checked and steps will have to be immediately taken to take back the inflated currency to a healthy normal level. I would --

respectfully request that a committee of economic exports be immediately appointed to go thoroughly into the question and advise Government. Perhaps the speedy resolution of the -- sterling balances to our credit would largely help us in this difficult position.

3). I know you are fully busy just at the moment and perhaps I am wrong in disturbing your attention. In that case, you will of course kindly excuse me.

With respectful Pranams from myself and colleagues.

Yours sincerely,

D.P. Karmarkar

Sardar Vallabhabhai Patel,

Birla House,

New- Delhi.

[redacted]

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B. I. Cable. 5821 No.

INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT

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Jawharlal nehru congress House

Bombay 6

= madras food famine growing daily more serious food imports alone can save situation (stop) pressing ourclaims for food imports at copenhagen food agricultural conference essential (stop) government invites me to attend it myself convinced of its usefulness (stop) pray wire permission = Ranga naidubrahm

Express

MOHANLAL SAXENA
CARE CONGRESS
LONDON

YOUR WIRE ADVISE ALIGH RAMZA ABDULGHANI TO GO UNDER CHANGED CONDITIONS ISSUE NECESSARY INSTRUCTIONS

15.8.46 VALLABHBHAI

WARDHA G.P.O.
TEL.
17 AUG. 46

Lucknow 10

Sardar Patel

Report book

Copenhagen

Ramgarh

Party Refused

Sekhar
Secretary

Corr.-7. Feroz sons, Lahore.

INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT

From _____ To _____

No. _____, dated _____ the _____ 19 .

Mukand Lal Saxena
Minister Attached
Yours sincerely Ali Sardar
Allama Ranga Chantra
Ji Ke
Contra vaccaam
Quinn tractions

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3rd Aug.46

My dear Manubhai,

I had received your letter of 20th July, but as you had left for Delhi and I was bed-ridden, I could not write to you. We shall discuss this question when we meet at our convenience. I know your difficulties and your feeling of frustration in the Party. It is unfortunate that in the Party there are few people who can understand such complicated and technical subjects. I do not think they do anything wrong consciously but they are probably unable to understand the matter in all its aspects and implications. Perhaps we will be able to meet on my return to Bombay from Wardha, where I am going for the Working Committee meeting on the 6th inst.

Yours sincerely,

Shri Manu Subedar, M.L.A.
(Central),
Kodak House,
Hornby Rd., Bombay.

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KODAK HOUSE,
HORNBY ROAD, FORT,
BOMBAY.

TELEPHONE: 26372
TELEGRAMS: CROWNALUCO

20th July 1946

My dear Sardar Saheb,

The Bretton-Woods Committee of the Assembly is scheduled to meet on the 26th at New Delhi, and I am leaving on the 24th.

I have previously expressed to you very briefly my dissatisfaction with my position in the Congress Assembly Party. I did not give you details, because you were engaged on larger negotiations and problems. In February at the time of the Bretton Woods discussions I found the hand of Government reaching right inside the Congress Party to secure results, which they wanted. Their method of dealing with Indian opposition was to isolate me and to get the three other colleagues in their hands. They did this largely through Sir Chintaman Deshmukh, Sir Sri Ram, the Editors of the "Eastern Economist" and "Indian Finance", Mr.Mulherkar of the Federation, Rao Bahadur V. P. Menon and other agencies, and they got at both Satyanarayan Sinha and

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Sarat Bose as well as the other three members. You know the subsequent history of how we compromised on this issue.

India's financial interests are being jeopardised in various subtle ways not quite clear to the layman. For example, the complete removal of the E.P.T. has led to the Stock Exchange boom and an appreciation of British assets, which they are disposing off. It was also calculated to and has led to the result that enormous orders for machinery are going out of India. But a National Government would have continued this tax in order to check black-marketing and rise of prices.

caretakers will take care of it!

Similarly, India's financial interests in the matter of sterling balances are jeopardised. It is most extraordinary that the three Cabinet Ministers should have come here and not a word was said to them by any Indian in regard to the sterling balances. Why should the debtor offer to do anything about a debt, if the creditor does not mind and if he does not constantly press for repayment ?

Clauses 6 and 10 in the Anglo-American Agreement

are prejudicial to India and they have put up Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar to defend their position and to pretend that the American loan would be a very great advantage to India. I could have refuted this and various other propagandist statements, which are coming out, had I had the same zeal as I did in February 1946. But I carry a sense of frustration so far as my own Party men are concerned, the latest phase of it being the omission of my name in the Constituent Assembly. It is extraordinary that no men with direct financial knowledge have been included from Bombay - a Province, it was expected, would give such men.

I confess I am a little undecided as to what definite course I should take in future. You very kindly advised in one of your letters written to me in Delhi not to act in a hurry or rashly, and I am following that advice.

I am going to this meeting with the conviction that India's adherence to the Bank (apart from the Fund) is a definite disadvantage. It means the ultimate risking of Rs.130 crores for an international experiment, whose principal object is to help war-torn countries like China,

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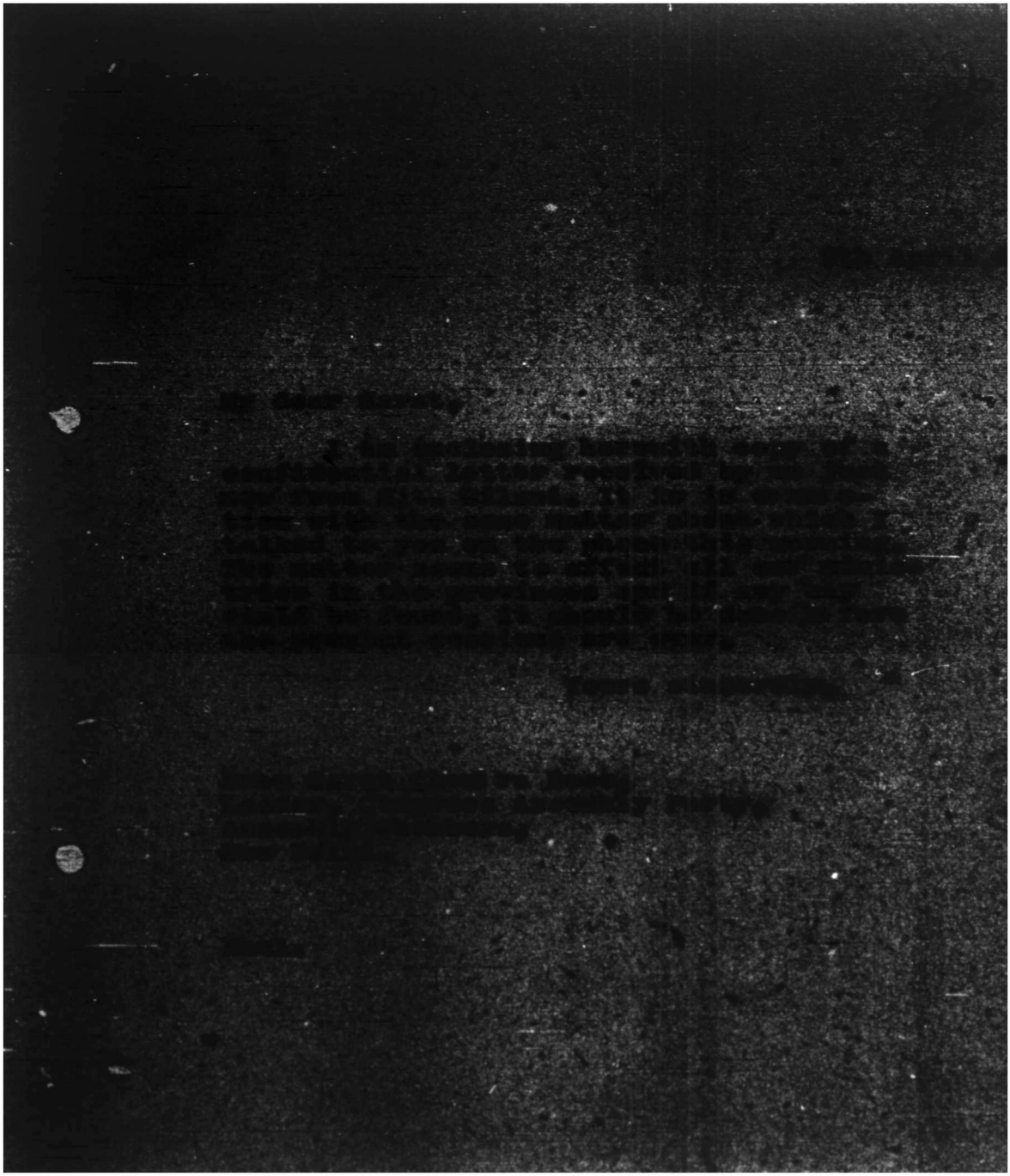
Belgium, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland and Italy. India will not be eligible for loans from this institution. If the money is lost (and I am absolutely convinced that these loans will never be repaid), India will have to bear it. The Bank will give loans to countries, which cannot raise money through the ordinary machinery of banks, which means more risky loans. The loans will be to Governments of these countries, so that, in the event of revolutions, the new Government would repudiate their liability.

I fear that, if the same kind of stampeding is done as in February, my colleagues, i.e. Gadgil, Anantasayanam Ayyangar and Neogi, might or might not take this view. In that case I shall record a minute of dissent and do my duty.

I know you have many big things on your mind at the moment. I have therefore contented myself with just informing you of the position by means of this letter.

Yours respectfully,
Manu Subedar

Sardarsaheb Vallabhbhai J. Patel,
"Hem Prabha", Marine Drive,
Bombay.



Confidential
By Special Messenger.

Warris Road,
Lahore.

April 7th 1946. 237

My dear Sardar Saheb,

I could not see you about an important matter before leaving Delhi last night.

The Central Assembly threw out a whole block of Budget for some sections of the Information Department, involving some 80 lakhs. Part of this, about Rs 55 lacs was for grants to Provincial publicity departments. While rightly criticising some other activities of the Department, the Provincial part of the Budget also went!

I suppose all Provinces will want this money. The Punjab certainly does. Sachar Saheb tells me that the Punjab Premier is interested. In Fact Sachar saheb says that he intimated the need of Punjab Government to Sarat Babu himself. Our request is that a directive should be given to our Party in Delhi to allow a supplementary Budget to go through covering just as much a s is needed for the Field Publicity Organisation. The Punjab will be grateful. Sir Akbar Hydari, I believe, will move immediately for a supplementary grant, if he is told that the Opposition will agree. We will be grateful for your help.

With respects,

Yours sincerely,

B.G. Bilaram

21st March 46.

My dear Satyaharayan,

I have received your letter of the 19th inst. I thought that I had already written to you last week but I am not sure. Perhaps I may have written to Sarat Babu and not you.

It was a surprise to hear that the Party was instructed not to throw out the finance bill. In fact I did not believe such a story atfirst but when we met in Bombay, I found out that it was true and so the matter was placed by me before the Working Committee and immediate instructions were given to the Leader of the Party by telephone. It would have been a blunder if we had done otherwise. I had already conveyed my advice through Sjt.Masani when he met me in Bombay long before the Working Committee meeting. Our attitude must be clear and if the League joins us well and good; otherwise we must stand by our own position irrespective of what the League will do.

We may be coming there probably by the end of this month but the date is not settled.

Re: your junior Whip's brother, I have

p...2

21/3/46

31 Canning Lane.
New Delhi
19/3 239

My dear respected Sardarji

For a long time, I have not received any letter from you. My last letter has been left unreplied. I think, it is due to your preoccupations.

When Maulana Shibli & Asaf Ali told us here that it was the idea of the High command not to throw the Finance Bill, I was a bit perturbed. But when your message came to Sarat Babu, it had a very heartening effect. We were wondering as to why should he show any gesture before the event. Our position has now been misunderstood in the Camp. Now it is alright.

The Muslim League has not

tried to help him but there is too strong opposition from the local provincial board.

Yours sincerely,

Babu Satyanarayan Sinha,
M.L.A.(Central),
31 Canning Lane,
New Delhi.

21 3/46

31 Canning Lane.
New Delhi
19/3 · 239

My dear respected Sardarji

For a long time, I have not received any letter from you. My last letter has been left unreplied. I think it is due to your preoccupations.

When Maulana Sahib & Asaf Ali told us here that it was the idea of the High command not to throw the Finance Bill, I was a bit perturbed. But when your message came to Surat South, it had a very heartening effect. We were wondering as to why should we show any gesture before the event. Our position have now been misunderstood in the country. Now it is alright.

The Muslim League has not

come to any decision yet.
They are meeting tomorrow
to take the final decision. We
are doing all that is possible
to canvass their back benches
to influence Mr. Jinnah.
I shall inform you immediately
when their decision is known.
When are you coming over here?
I shall be anxiously looking forward
to meeting you.

Mr. Adityan, the brother of our
Junior Whip here, for some reason
or other could not succeed in
getting Congress nomination for the
Assembly (Madras). Now, I am told
that he is a candidate for the
Upper Chamber seat. Is there
any chance for him? Kindly bear
in mind for the Cricket. My best
compliments to Sir Hari Ben. With kind regards,

Yours affly
Satyamurthy.

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18th March 46

My dear Satyanarayan,

I had your letter of the 25th Feby. I have heard from our friend Gadgil and I have also received copies of correspondence between Manu Subedar and Sarat Babu. I am not surprised. Experts generally hold strong views and it requires a good deal of understanding and tolerance to appreciate their viewpoint. They require tactful handling and we must not be impatient with them. Lay men cannot easily understand them. Manu Subedar is he perhaps the only expert with experience in our party on financial affairs. He is very able, industrious and reliable and he is a man of strong convictions. Generally such people have little patience with lay men and they get irritated easily but we must not. I have written to Sarat Babu about it.

Rajen Babu had come here and we had long discussions about Bihar elections and formation of ministry also. I am sorry to hear that Baji has lost. Our expectations about the Muslim constituencies have been falsified as in other provinces except Frontier.

The party must be functioning well. Many of them are juniors and perhaps more anxious to come in the lime light but the

party can make its reputation only by its members making a good, informative speeches full of reliable facts and statistics but this requires a good deal of study and resisting of temptation to speak.

I hope the President is doing well.

Yours sincerely,

Babu Satyanarayan Sinha, M.L.A.(Central),
31 Canning Lane,
New Delhi.

31 Canning Lane.
New Delhi
28/2

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Respected Sardarji

Your Kind letter by Air mail I have just now received. I had requested Sri Ghanshyam Dasji Jesbury to contact you on Phone & convey my request to you Re the Punjab Politics. He informed me in the evening as to the gist of the talk he had with you. I agree that in the circumstances there is no help.

Re the Boycott vote decision, you will be informed in full details by Swaran Singh & Gadgil. The Congress Party & the League arrived at a unanimous decision which has been approved by the Press also generally. Mr Mani Subrahmanyam is the only individual who seems to be dissatisfied with the whole thing. His attitude from the beginning right up to the end, has been suspicious. I must confess to you, that he has created a bad impression on me & the other members of the Party. Gadgil will tell you, the first hand report

about the whole episode.
Sarat Babu took a bold
& firm stand in the matter.
& thus saved the situation.
I shall write to you in some more
detail later.

I entirely agree that the
Congress Leadership should assert
now, otherwise, the situation will go
out of control completely & who
else can do it successfully
except Mahatmaji & yourself.
The irresponsible elements in
Politics who are masquerading as
revolutionaries, are in my opinion
in the present condition, are nothing
but counter-Revolutionaries.
Mrs Asaf Ali is also creating more
complications, & I think, She should
also be restrained. She seems to have
lost her ~~bad~~ balance entirely.
My compliments to Sri Mani Ben.

With kindest regds.
Yours ~~ever~~ affly
Satya Narayan

31 Canning Lane.
New Delhi
9/3.

12 3/46

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My dear Respected Sardarji.

I did not write anything to you last week because Mr. Saadgil had gone there and he promised me to acquaint you with all the happenings of the place, of the period, between my last letter & his departure from here.

On the 7th morning, when we were in our Satyagraha meeting, information was received that the situation in the old Delhi was getting beyond control. Mr. Asaf Ali, Mohanlal Saxena, Sri Balkrishna Sharma & myself rushed to the scene. We tried our level best to control the situation, but the communists and some other leftists who had let loose, the goonda elements, frustrated our efforts, with the result that the fire was opened and innocent lives were lost.

Now when the working committee is meeting, I hope this counter-Revolutionary activities will be thoroughly discussed and some firm and effective steps will be taken to avoid the recrudescence of Calcutta, Bombay & Delhi occurrences.

Sarat Babu had been to Calcutta for a few days. He returned here on the 7th Evening. We are carrying on the work here, to the best of our ability and there is general satisfaction all round with our activities.

I contact the President almost every day. He is doing his job, very well. Kindly convey my compliments to Sri Mani Ben.

With kind regards
Yours
Satya Narayan.

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12th March 46

My dear Manubhai,

I have received your letter of the 7th inst. I met Sjt. Asaf Ali last night and I learn from him that the party has almost unanimously agreed informally to discuss the budget on merits and not throw it out as has been done in the past on one uniform policy and principle. You want me to give instructions before Tuesday, i.e. today. There is hardly any time for me to do so. We are meeting today in the Working Committee. It is difficult to postpone the very urgent matters which we are discussing today and this question may have to wait till our discussions on important matters are over.

I had a talk with Sjt. Minoo Masani when he saw me last week before returning to Delhi and he knows my views. We had also agreed with me that there should be no variation in our practice till we see a substantial change in the policy of Govt. I see, however, difficulties of influencing the party from a distance but I will try to discuss this matter in the Working Committee.

Yours sincerely,

M.P. Manu Subedar, M.L.A.(Central),
Manning Mansions,
New Delhi.

TELEPHONE: 26372
TELEGRAMS: CROWNALUCO

KODAK HOUSE,
HORNBY ROAD, FORT,
BOMBAY.....19

Telephone
40248

27, Canning Lane, New Delhi,
7th March 1946.

My dear Sardarsaheb,

I acknowledge your letter of the 4th March and am grateful for the clear expression of your confidence in me on economic subjects.

The delay in my letter of the 27th February reaching you only on the 3rd, can be accounted for either by disturbed conditions in Bombay, or delays of the C.I.D.

Notwithstanding your clear instructions, I regret that Congress friends here, and principally Gadgil, urged a different course and succeeded in creating an impression on Mr. Sarat Bose that the majority wanted that course. What has happened is not fortunately so bad that the position cannot be retrieved. The statement made by you is very good. It has lifted the topic from the hands of economists and businessmen and small politicians, who may be either ignored or influenced. It has made this an important national issue, on which India would expect

the Cabinet Delegation to have something very definite to say.

While I am writing to you, I would like to bring to your notice an issue of some importance from here. In my opinion, the proper course would be to throw out the Finance Bill on the plea that we cannot vote supplies to this Government, which is not responsible to us and in the expenditure of which we have no hand or share. We have done this for the last ten years. At a Party meeting today Mr. Asaf Ali indicated that he himself would merely be content with a few small cuts and with securing those small changes, which the Finance Member has promised if an undertaking was given to him that the Finance Bill would be passed. The suggestion of Mr. Reddiar (Southern India Chamber of Commerce) that on this matter directions from the High Command must be sought, was not received well by several persons in the meeting.

KODAK HOUSE,
HORNBY ROAD, FORT,
BOMBAY.....19

TELEPHONE: 26372
TELEGRAMS: CROWNALUCO

The view that the Cabinet Delegation is coming, ought to elicit from us a courteous tone and the satisfaction that this would be the last Budget, which we would throw out, but it need not emasculate the Opposition as Opposition. If the League comes with us, it is very good. If the League stays out, it will show up the League.

While there are some good features in the Budget, the fact that in a peace year Rs.244 crores are proposed to be spent for the military (against Rs.50 crores normal), and Rs.111 crores are budgeted for Civil Administration (against Rs.38 crores before the war) and there will be a deficit of Rs.44 crores (real deficit Rs.70 crores, reduced by crediting Rs.24 crores collected from the War Risks Insurance Fund), cannot be ignored.

Important negotiations may be pending with this Government, but Americans and others ought not to think that we are reconciled to the Government as it is today.

The Executive Council is filled up with men chosen for their declared opposition to the Congress (as well as the League) and most of the expanded War Departments are filled with men, who got into favour by their anti-Congress attitude. Contraction both in the military field by demobilisation and in the civil administration field by sending away anti-popular men, has been definitely deferred, obviously because Government may use these elements in case the negotiations break down.

Mr.Sarat.Bose is expected to reach Delhi sometime tomorrow. The decision whether the Finance Bill should be thrown out or not, should be reached sometime by Tuesday next.

Yours respectfully,
Mani Subedar

Sardarsaheb Vallabhahi Patel,
"Hem Prabha",
Marine Drive,
Bombay.

2A6

6th March 46

My dear Sarat,

I had received your letter of the 26th February along with the short statement of accounts, but owing to troubles in Bombay, I have not been able to look into it.

I find from your letter of the 2nd that you are going to Calcutta the next day and returning back to Delhi on the 7th.

About the Bretton Woods agreement, you must have seen my statement in response to your joint telegram and the reactions to it in England.

Yours sincerely,

Babu Sarat Chandra Bose,
25 Canning Lane,
New Delhi.

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5-3/46

25, Canning Lane,
NEW DELHI.

2nd March 1946.

My dear Sardar,

I am sending you herewith a copy of my speech in the Assembly yesterday on the interim report on the Bretton Woods Agreements. That sums up our attitude towards the Bretton Woods institutions. I feel strongly that this question should be raised for discussion and settlement when the British Cabinet Mission is here by the end of this month.

I am going to Calcutta tomorrow morning on very urgent business in connection with the coming elections, and shall be back in Delhi on the 7th inst.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

S C Bose

(Sarat Chandra Bose.)

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel,
68, Marine Drive,
BOMBAY.

Encl: 1.

SPEECH OF SHRI SARAT CHANDRA BOSE, LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION, IN THE INDIAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY ON 1ST MARCH 1946 ON THE BRETTON WOODS AGREEMENTS.

Sir, I congratulate the members of the Committee on the Bretton Woods Agreements on the unanimity which they reached in submitting their interim report to this House. Those among them who represent the major parties in this House have demonstrated that party alignments cannot and will not be allowed to stand in the way of an agreement, where the interests of India are at stake; and I hope, Sir, that when the time comes for us to take our final decision, they and the parties they represent will demonstrate once more the inherent and essential unity and indivisibility of India in her opposition to the reactionary forces in the United Kingdom and elsewhere. Sir, I do believe in unanimity but I do not make a fetish of it. And speaking for myself and for the party which I have the honour to represent in this House, I shall say that where the interests of India demand, we shall not hesitate to be and to find ourselves in the minority. For we know, and history teaches us, that all great movements in the world have begun and, if I mistake not, will always begin in the minority of one.

Sir, in considering the terms of the interim report before this House, we cannot afford to forget the circumstances under which the sterling balances which are due to India accumulated in the hands of the United Kingdom. Goods and commodities belonging to India, which are now represented by these sterling balances, were taken from India

during the war, which was in no sense India's war and were, in fact, taken without her consent. They were taken at a time when the civilian population of India was greatly in need of them and had, in consequence, to undergo very great privations. In those circumstances, to treat these debts lightly would, to my mind, permanently destroy the basis of fair dealings and good relationship between one country and another and would also, I think, imperil the negotiations which are going to be initiated by the British Cabinet Mission. As far as we know the British Cabinet Mission is coming out in a few weeks to this country. I would like to give a warning in this connection to propagandists in and outside India. I would tell them that to institute comparisons between loans from the U.S.A. to the United Kingdom and the sterling debts due to India would be nothing short of a cruel joke. We all know today that the United States of America is the richest country in the world and India the poorest. To the United States of America, the Anglo-American loan represents, if I mistake not, only about 9 days' cost of the war. To India, the sterling balances due to her represent 17 years' net income of the Central Government. So, the importance of repayment of the sterling balances due to India cannot possibly be exaggerated.

I should also like to remind the House in this connection that a mischievous and insidious propaganda has been going on for some time past in order to deprive India of this money and the excuse put forward is that India has had and will have many political concessions and that India has benefited during the war. What benefit India has derived from the war we Indians know; and I should have thought that it was time that propagandists in India and outside realised that it was no use

carrying on their nefarious propaganda any more. It will not do for the Honourable the Finance Member to say that the report cabled out by the Associated Press of America a few days ago was mere sensation-mongering. That report very clearly states the attitude of certain British officials, unnamed though they may be. I should have thought that, if the report was mere sensation-mongering, His Majesty's Government would have been the first to protest against the report and declare in clear and unmistakable terms that every word of that report was untrue. That has not been done up till now.

Sir, on behalf of my party, I accord my support to the interim report for the time being because, for one reason, the Cabinet Mission is coming out to India within a few weeks. Some of us, at any rate, expect that the Cabinet Mission will be prepared to deal with this vexed question here in India and in our presence. I hope they will not tell us that they are not prepared to discuss it. If they do so, we shall know what to do.

I would like to say in this connection just a few words on the supplementary note which has been signed by members representing my party. I do accord my wholehearted support and the support of my party to every word they have said in their supplementary note. I wish to stress the words they have used in their note, the words being —

> "Apart from India's membership of Bretton Woods institutions, the question of amending the Reserve Bank Act, 1934, has assumed very great importance as there is a continuous addition to our sterling balances".

I know that the Honourable the Finance Member has expressed a desire to amend at some future date certain sections of the Reserve Bank of India

Act, but I do wish to impress upon him the importance of making those amendments with the least possible delay.

Sir, I am at the present moment racing against time and I do not want the Honourable the Finance Member to nourish the grievance that I have not left him time to give an adequate reply to the numerous points which have been raised in the course of the speech made this morning by my honourable and learned friend Mr. Manu Subedar. I shall conclude with just a few observations.

It is time for us to remind His Majesty's Government — it is also time for His Majesty's Government am to remind themselves -- that India's economy cannot any longer be tied to the chariot wheels of Britain's economy. I hope that, whether in the matter of repayment of the sterling balances or in the matter of the other issues that arise out of the interim report, they will always bear in mind this, that India is determined to come into her own, politically and economically. I look upon this interim report as one more opportunity given to His Majesty's Government to do justice to India. The interim report gives His Majesty's Government a locus poenitentiae. It is for His Majesty's Government to avail themselves of that opportunity. If they avail themselves of that opportunity, well and good. If they do not, we shall go our own way.

Interim Report of the Committee on the Bretton Woods Agreements.

The motion adopted by the House at its meeting held on the 29th January, 1946, in substitution of the motion moved by the Honourable the Finance Member on the previous day asking for ratification of the action of Government in adhering to the Bretton Woods Agreements as an original member proposed inter alia "that in order to determine what steps should now be taken a Committee of this House consisting of nine members be elected to go into this question and report at an early date to this House and pending consideration by this Assembly of such Report no further action be taken by this Government in respect of the said Fund or Bank". We, the undersigned, members of the Committee to which the above matter was referred, have considered the subject and have the honour to submit below our interim Report containing our recommendations.

1. We strongly endorse the statement made in the course of the recent debate by the Honourable the Finance Member that India is not bound in any way by the terms of the Anglo-American Loan Agreement of December, 1945.

(2) In our view the final decision whether it would be to India's advantage to remain a member of the Bretton Woods institutions may be determined to a very considerable extent by the outcome of the negotiations which His Majesty's Government are committed to undertake with the Government of India on the subject of liquidation of sterling credits. If these negotiations are unduly delayed, it may be necessary for India to withdraw before these negotiations take place, because it may happen that India will be called upon under the Agreement to undertake commitments which she may feel unable to shoulder in the absence of a satisfactory solution of the sterling credits. Similarly, it may be necessary for India to withdraw from the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank in case the proposals of His Majesty's Government for the settlement of sterling balances are not satisfactory to India. Meanwhile, apprehensions in this regard were voiced in the course of discussions in the Committee, owing to certain speeches

by eminent men in England advocating the scaling down of sterling balances, and we are assured in this connection by the Honourable the Finance Member that nothing has happened since the authoritative pronouncement made by Lord Keynes, Head of the U.K. Delegation at the Bretton Woods Monetary Conference in response to the demand of the Indian Delegation for an assurance on the subject, to diminish in any manner the authority or force of that statement. Nevertheless, in order to allay the anxieties which have been caused by certain statements in Parliament and in the British press we would welcome an early and authoritative re-assurance by His Majesty's Government on this point and the fixing of a date for negotiations with the least possible delay.

(3) We are also informed by the Honourable the Finance Member that sections 40 and 41 of the Reserve Bank of India Act 1934, under which the Bank is legally compelled to give rupees for sterling and to accumulated sterling against the issue of rupees will be amended as part of the action that will be taken to implement adherence to the International Monetary Fund Agreement.

(4) We recommend to the Assembly that Government may be authorised to appoint a Governor and an alternate and Executive Directors and alternates, when this is necessary, but no further financial commitments should be undertaken by Government with regard to the Fund or the Bank before the matter has been further considered by the Committee. The Committee should be summoned again to have a report from the Governor on his return from the first meetings of the Boards of Governors of the Fund and the Bank; we expect that he may be able to bring additional information bearing on the probable scope and manner of operations of these international institutions in relation to the requirements of this country, which may assist the committee in arriving at a considered recommendation to the Assembly on the question of continuance or discontinuance of membership.

25-2-46.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE.

25

With reference to paragraph (3) of the report above, we should like to add the following:

Apart from India's membership of Bretton Woods Institutions the question of amending the Reserve Bank Act, 1934, has assumed very great importance as there is continuous additions to our Sterling Balances. We think that Government should act promptly to put a stop to these accumulations by amending relevant sections of the Reserve Bank Act 1934 or otherwise. The accumulated balances are already a great problem and we do not want it to become more difficult and disadvantageous to India.

25th Feb. 1946.

Sd./- N.V. GADGIL.
Sd./- M.A. AYYANGAR.
Sd./- K.C. NEOGY.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN SHRI SARAT CHANDRA BOSE AND MR. SUBEDAR.

256

27, Canning Lane,
New Delhi.
23rd February 1946.

My dear Leader,

Have I understood you aright, that I am to sign the report as it now emanates from the Bretton Woods Committee and (i) not to make a separate report on my own, (ii) not to append a separate minute. I shall be much obliged if you will let me know.

Yours sincerely,

Sd./- Manu Subedar.

Shri Sarat Chandra Bose, MLA,
New Delhi.

25, Canning Lane,
New Delhi.
24th February 1946.

My dear Subedar,

Your letter of yesterday's date was to hand last night at about 9-30.

What I said yesterday morning to all three of you (yourself, Gadgil and Ananthasayanam Ayyangar) was that the separate report, stressing the Congress point of view, should be drafted by our members on the Bretton Woods Committee in consultation and should be signed by all of them. At the time of drafting, you can bring in the points on which you lay great stress. A report signed by all four of you would, to my mind, have greater effect on the Government and would be more desirable from the point of view of the Congress and the general public than a separate minute.

Yours sincerely,

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New Delhi.

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If you have already written a separate report or separate minute, I would like to go through it. Will you kindly send it on to me?

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If it is decided that I should not submit any such thing, I shall merely sign the general report, as the others have already done.

Awaiting your instructions,

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While I shall not break any Party discipline, you must permit me to resign from the Bretton Woods Committee, as I do not see what possible good I can do in that place.

I have taken much trouble over the Bretton Woods and sterling balances issue long time before the Assembly sessions started and throughout the period of the Assembly sessions. The fact that I am personally beaten is of small consequence. But you must forgive me if I decline to act further on bodies where I cannot act in a free atmosphere and with sincere feeling and according to my conscience.

While I will do everything, which you will direct me to do, you must forgive me if I do not partake in the Assembly proceedings further this sessions and seriously consider whether I should continue to be a member of the Assembly in future.

I trust you will look at these matters with some sympathy for me and not regard this attitude in any sense as a rebellion.

I am pursuing financial conscience with regard to Indian interests, which I have cultivated for the last thirty-five years, unaffected by any pressure of any kind. With all humility I may say that I consider that I possess expert knowledge on this subject and it is for this reason I find it difficult to continue in the political arena as a mere demagogue, which I am not.

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My dear Subedar,

Your letter of date to hand just now (10-5 a.m.).

Having followed the discussions closely from day to day, I am of opinion that we have made much progress on the lines all of us, including yourself, wanted, though we have not secured hundred per cent of our demands. The Muslim League has also fallen in line with us. In these circumstances, I think that what we have achieved up till now is in the best interests of India. Moreover, the Cabinet Mission will be here towards the end of next month, and we shall then have the fullest opportunity of pressing our demands in full.

However, if it is a matter of conscience with you, I shall not press you to sign the interim report. But if it is a case of political judgment or political tactics, I think you should fall in line with the majority view. In any case, you should not resign your membership of the Committee or decline to take further part in its proceedings or in the proceedings of the Assembly. I am free to confess that I consider your advice and assistance in the Bretton Woods matter to be valuable.

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contd.

What is most galling is that the views and arguments leading up to the conclusions most favourable to India's case would remain suppressed. As it is, the official view on this issue gets prominence everywhere in India (vide the "Statesman" and "Hindustan Times" of this morning). I thought this was a reasonable opportunity for putting forward fearlessly India's position.

As I am not well today, I shall not be attending the Assembly, or the meeting of the Committee this evening, which please note.

Yours sincerely,

Sd./- Manu Subedar.

Shri Sarat Chandra Bose, MLA,
New Delhi.

25, Canning Lane, New Delhi.
25th February 1946.

My dear Subedar,

Your second letter of date was handed over to me in the Assembly lobby before midday. I told your Secretary I would send you my reply at about 2 p.m.

I was glad to learn that you had decided to send for and sign the interim report prepared on the 23rd instant. A separate minute setting out our opinion regarding amendment of the Reserve Bank of India Act has also been drafted by the other three members. I went through it at about 1 p.m. and found it in order. I would request you to sign it also. In the circumstances, I do not think it is necessary for you to append a separate minute of your own just at this moment.

I can assure you that you and others of our Party will have full opportunity of fearlessly putting forward India's position. I believe that opportunity will come very soon. At the present moment, I am most anxious that our Party should take a united stand. The British official world will certainly try to get prominence for its views, but I do not feel worried about that. To us, India's interests will always remain paramount.

Yours sincerely,
Sd./- Sarat Chandra Bose.

Mr. Manu Subedar, M.L.A.,
New Delhi.

27, Canning Lane, New Delhi.
25th February 1946.

My dear Leader,

You must assume that I have given up the task (largely self-imposed) of giving the lead in matters of finance to the Party in favour of those, whose opinions have been permitted to over-ride mine. I therefore trust that they will move an adjournment in the House over the statement of British officials, (vide H. Times this morning) which says that the sterling debt to India is frozen and which, amongst other things, suggests a scaling down and a settlement on the same basis on which America settled her claim against U.K. of Lease-Lend outstandings! It is needless to doubt that Government of India have failed to protest against this in the interests of this country.

For your information I may say that America settled for 650 million dollars the Lease-Lend outstanding up to March 1945 of 12,775 million dollars. This repayment of 650 million dollars included charge for U.S.A. property and installations in Britain taken over. You will notice that the settlement was at two per cent of the outstanding.

Yours sincerely,

Sd./- Manu Subedar.

Shri Sarat Chandra Bose, MLA,
New Delhi.

25, Canning Lane, New Delhi.
25th February 1946.

My dear Subedar,

This is in reply to your letter of date which was delivered to me at about 5-30 ~~pm~~ this evening.

I have read the Associated Press of America report containing the declaration of unnamed British officials. I do not think an adjournment motion will lie. What we can do is to put questions to the Finance Member on the subject and I think you had better put them. If, however, you do not wish to put questions, I may ask Gadgil or Ananthasayanam Ayyangar to do so.

Yours sincerely,
Sd./Sarat Chandra Bose

Mr. Manu Subedar, M.L.A.,
New Delhi.

4th March 46

My dear Manubhai,

I have received your letter of the 27th February only yesterday. Why was it delayed so long in transmission, I cannot say. As soon as I received your first telegram on this question, I had wired to Sarat Babu and also to Sjt. Gadgil, giving my opinion supporting your views but we have to work in a party, where we have to make compromises in order to take the weakest with us and thus we have to dilute our own strong opinions to suit certain conditions which are unavoidable.

I got your joint wire and I have prepared a statement in consultation with friends here, which has been given to the press today. I feel as strongly as you do on this question but you know I hate making statements publicly on such important questions without first mobilising our strength behind it. However, I think the statement that I have given will be enough for the purpose you have in view.

We had a very difficult time in Bombay last week but we have passed through the crisis and Bombay is normal again.

If ever you want my assistance in any matter, you can write to me without any hesitation. In the party there, on all economic

subjects, we have to rely on you; you are the only expert on whom we can count as the watchman of our interest .

Yours sincerely,

Sjt. Manu Subedar,
M.L.A.(Central),
27 Canning Lane,
New Delhi.

TELEPHONE: 26372
TELEGRAMS: CROWNALUCO

KODAK HOUSE, 283
HORNBY ROAD, FORT,
BOMBAY.....19

Telephone
40248

27, Canning Lane, New Delhi,
27th February 1946.

My dear Sardarsaheb,

I confirm having sent the wire in company with Shri Sarat Bose. Propaganda started in India and in America against India's claims is intense, as you will see from the London message of the 23rd January, in which British officials are reported to be declaring that Indian money is frozen in London and cannot be given for two hundred years if America does not give the loan, and even if America gave the loan, India would have to make a settlement on the same basis as America did with the lease-lend. America's claim on the lease-lend was 12,775 million dollars and it was settled for 650 million dollars, i.e. roughly two per cent!

Government seem to be actively propagating the view that, if there are political reforms, a heavy scaling down should be attempted by India. This propaganda reached both Shri Sarat Bose and myself, and we feel that our own men (Indians) are being used for this purpose.

KODAK HOUSE,
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BOMBAY.....19

TELEPHONE: 26372
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We both therefore thought that it would be good if an authoritative statement of some kind came from you. It would guide Indian opinion generally in this country and all nationalist papers, and it would certainly be transmitted to U.S.A. Hence the suggestion.

The majority of the Congress Party's Executive in the Assembly took a view against me, that we should withdraw unless there were assurances on the sterling balances. I have kept the Party discipline and signed the report as required by Shri Sarat Bose. It was the firmness, with which I stood out for a definite position, which has secured in the unanimous report several heads affecting sterling balances, though not in language which I would have liked. I have been watching the financial depredations made by Britain on India during the last six years and I am convinced that their intentions are not clean, and unless opinion in India stiffened and was expressed very strongly at high level, they would be able to deprive

KODAK HOUSE,
HORNBY ROAD, FORT.
BOMBAY 19

TELEPHONE: 26372
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India of four to five hundred crores of rupees. The level used is the impatient industrialists, who want machineries and who want some dollars now for their machineries, regardless of what happens to the country's general economy. It is these big industrialists, who are therefore being used by the Government.

The fear, which I have, is that, if there is any heavy scaling down, Indian prices will never come down. Millions, who could not eat fully when rice was at Rs 3/- a maund, can hardly afford to live when rice is from Rs 14 to 24 a maund. An ordinary workman, who is earning Rs 30/- now, would have to be paid something like Rs.100/-, and he would be worse off on Rs 100/- afterwards than he is on Rs 30/- now. The whole of the middle class would be squeezed physically and morally.

I have endeavoured to bring to your notice

KODAK HOUSE,
HORNBY ROAD, FORT.
BOMBAY, 19

TELEPHONE: 26372
TELEGRAMS: CROWNALUCO

the very great importance of this subject, and I have no doubt, as and when opportunities occur, you will express the voice of India in no uhmistakable terms on this subject.

Yours sincerely,
Manu Subedar

Encl.

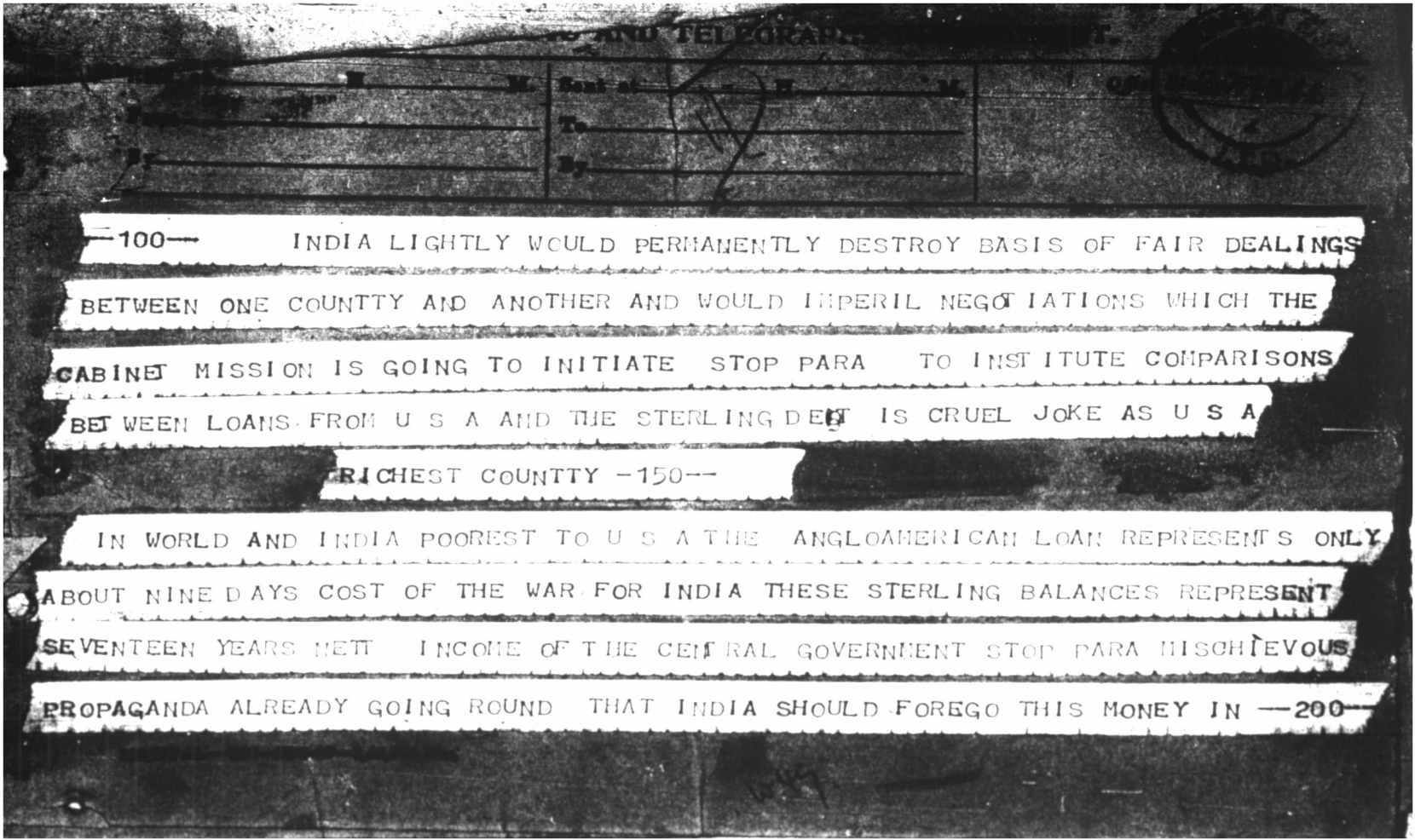
Sardarsaheb Vallabhai Patel,
"Hem Prabha",
Marine Drive,
Bombay.

INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT

X NIL NEW DELHI 27-423 SARDARSAHEB VALLABHBHAI PATEL HEMPRABH

MARINE DRIVE BOMBAY

CONSIDER IT VERY DESIRABLE THAT A STATEMENT GENERALLY ON LINES INDICATED BELOW AND IF NECESSARY MODIFIED IN CONSULTATION WITH BOMBAY FRIENDS BE ISSUED BY YOURSELF TO COUNTERACT BRITISH PROPAGANDA IN U S A AS WELL AS IN INDIA STOP COMMODITIES REPRESENTING STERLING BALANCES WERE TAKEN FROM INDIA AND THEIR DEBT -50— TO INDIA BY ENGLAND IS SACRED OBLIGATION BECUASE GOODS REPRESENTING AMOUNT NOW ACCUMULATED WERE TAKEN WITHOUT CONSENT AND AT CONTROLLED PRICES STOP CIVIL POPULATION OF INDIA WAS DEPRIVED OF SOME OF THESE COMODITIES WHEN THEY WERE BADLY NEEDED AND PEOPLE UNDERWENT VERY GREAT PRIVATIONS TO TREAT THESE DEBTS DUE TO -100---


—100— INDIA LIGHTLY WOULD PERMANENTLY DESTROY BASIS OF FAIR DEALINGS
BETWEEN ONE COUNTTY AND ANOTHER AND WOULD IMPERIL NEGOTIATIONS WHICH THE
CABINET MISSION IS GOING TO INITIATE STOP PARA TO INSTITUTE COMPARISONS
BETWEEN LOANS FROM U S A AND THE STERLING DEBT IS CRUEL JOKE AS U S A
RICHEST COUNTTY —150—
IN WORLD AND INDIA POOREST TO U S A THE ANGLOAMERICAN LOAN REPRESENTS ONLY
ABOUT NINE DAYS COST OF THE WAR FOR INDIA THESE STERLING BALANCES REPRESENT
SEVENTEEN YEARS NETT INCOME OF THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT STOP PARA MISCHIEVOUS
PROPAGANDA ALREADY GOING ROUND THAT INDIA SHOULD FOREGO THIS MONEY IN —200—

AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT

CONSIDERATION OF POLITICAL CONCESSIONS MUST NOT BE COUNTENANCED BY ANY SELFRESPECTING INDIAN SINCE POLITICAL POWER AND INDIAS FUNDS HAVE BOTH BEEN TAKEN AND RETAINED WITHOUT CONSENT INDIA IS ENTITLED TO BOTH AND ANY SUPPORTERS OF PRESENT GOVERNMENT WHO TACK OF WHITTLING DOWN INDIAS JUST CLAIMS MUST BE REGARDED AS --250---

COUNTRYS TRAITORS STOPPARA ENGLAND AND AMERICA BEHIND INDIAS BACK ENTERED INTO ANGLOAMERICAN LOAN AGREEMENT CLAUSES OF WHICH ARE IN DIRECT OPPOSITION TO INDIAS JUST CLAIMS AND INTERESTS BRITISH PRESS INDULGING IN PERIODICAL ASSAULTS ON INDIAS POSITION WITH SUGGESTIONS OF SCALING DOWN BUT THEY ARE NOT SUPPORTING THE COUNTER - --300---

—300— SUGGESTION FROM INDIA FOR THE MOBILISATION OF BRITISH ASSETS IN THIS COUNTTY AS AN HONEST ATTEMPT ON THE PART OF U K TO REPAY WHAT WAS TAKEN FORCIBLY ACCORDING TO ASSOCIATED PRESS AMERICA MESSAGE FROM LONDON DATED TWENTY THIRD FEBRUARY BRITISH OFFICIALS PRESUMABLY WITH KNOWLEDGE AND APPROVAL OF THE BRITISH GOVT —350— ARE NOW EMBARKING ON SOME KIND OF PERNICIOUS PROPAGANDA LET EVERY ONE CONCERNED NOTE BOTH IN INDIA AND OUTSIDE THAT INDIA HAS STRENGTH AND UNITY TO ENFORCE FULLY HERE JUST CLAIMS IN THE MATTER OF STERLING DEBTS NO PARTY DIFFERENCES BETWEEN INDIANS SHOULD INFLUENCE ATTITUDE OF ANY SECTION ON THIS

—400—

GRAVE ISSUE OF COMMON INTERESTS VIS - A - VIS BRITAIN =

SARAT CHANDRA BOSE MANU SUBEDAR =

4th March 46.

My dear Sarat,

I have received your letter of the 1st inst. I am enclosing herewith a copy of a letter which I have already written to Sjt. K.F.Thomas of the Orient Weekly, from which you will see that what you desire has already been done.

About the joint telegram sent by you and Subedar, you will see my statement in the press today.

I have received no information or report from Bengal about the election work. I am anxious to know what is going on there.

Hope you are doing well.

Yours sincerely,

Encl: 1.

Babu Sarat Chandra Bose,
NEW DELHI.

4/3/46

213

25, Canning Lane,

NEW DELHI.

1st March, 1946.

My dear Sardar,

Mr. K.P. Thomas (of the Orient Illustrated Weekly, Calcutta) informs me that he has written to you offering his services to go to South India (particularly Travancore and Cochin) to enquire into the condition of I.N.A. men and submit a report. I know Mr. Thomas very well. I think it will be helpful and useful if he could be authorized to visit the South (at his own expense, as he says) and submit a report to the All-India Enquiry Committee.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

S C Bose

(Sarat Chandra Bose.)

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel,
68, Marine Drive, BOMBAY.

26th July, 1946.

My dear Satyamurayan,

I have your letter of the 21st inst. Owing to the very grave situation that developed in Bombay, I had to abandon my programme of relief and tours. I could not leave the city in this condition, about 250 people have been shot dead and over 1000 people have got gunshot wounds. The Hospitals are full. It is an unfortunate situation, which could have been avoided if some of our irresponsible elements had behaved better. Time has come when we shall have to expose them. If they want leadership, they must shoulder the responsibility. So many innocent lives have been lost owing to their folly and much damage has been done to property both private and public, besides loss of reputation of our organisation, which has been built up on collossal sacrifices. However, things are improving and I trust conditions will become normal in a couple of days.

No[illegible] needs conferences. I am awaiting information as to what has been done finally by you all.

About the Congress Presidentship, who can say what will happen by that time in this country? It is a matter entirely for the delegates to decide.

Glad to hear that the party is working in a team spirit and you are keeping in touch with the President, who, I hope, will fulfil the expectations of all.

Yours sincerely,

Babu Satyanarain Sinha, M.P.
(General),
31, Canning Lane,
New Delhi.

31 Canning Lane 215
New Delhi
21/2

Respected Sardarji

Sorat Sahib arrived here on the 18th morning. There is a very sharp division in the Party over the boycott word question. We have not yet been able to arrive at any unanimous decision. Commercial interests & the Economists of the camp also are not of one mind over the issue. Jadgil & Subedar have already approached you with their suggestions. We are anxiously awaiting your lead in the matter. The reaction of the Muslim League is also in the fluid state. Jinnah & Nawabzada are absent and unless they come, the League will also not come to any definite decision.

Sir Ghanshyam Das ji was telling me, the other day that you were expected in Delhi on your way to Punjab & the Frontier. I am anxiously looking forward to having your Darshan here.

Re- the Presidentship of the
next Congress. I have sounded
several friends of the different Provinces
who count & the opinion is in your favour
decidedly. We would all be very pleased,
if you give your consent to stand for the
Presidentship. In the difficult year ahead,
nobody else is more competent to be
at the helm of the Great organisation.

The Party is working in a team spirit.
I am always in very close touch with the President
(Mr. Mavlankar). He is really a very nice man.

My best compliments to Mrs Sen.

With kindest regards
Yours sincerely.
Satya Narayan.

21st Feby.46

My dear Ranga,

I have received your letter of the 18th inst. and a copy of your letter dated 16th inst. addressed to Gandhiji, regarding the Party's attitude about the food situation.

Nobody expected that the Congress Party would join the Delegation headed by a member of the present Executive Council. It is below the dignity of the Congress and it would compromise our position and would be inconsistent with our self-respect. Therefore the decision that has been taken by the party is perfectly correct. Any other decision would have let the party into difficulties and would have been against the traditional policy of the Congress. It is not necessary therefore for us to make any defence against any criticism in this matter. Interested people may say anything they like but the Congress position is wellknown and is not likely to be misunderstood.

The Andhra nominations are over. I have tried my best but failed. There was no possibility of making any bridge in the deadlock against your suggestion. Sjt. Asaf Ali had also telephoned to me about Mrs. Ranga and about your nominees and I tried my best to place this point also before the Committee, but there was no change and I am sorry.

Yours sincerely,

Prof. N.G.Ranga,
130 Ferozshah Rd., NewDelhi.

P.S. On the matter of the Brettonwoods monetary proposals, I have already communicated my views to Sjt. Asaf Ali and also to Sjt. Gadgil.

Prof. N.G.Ranga,
M.L.A.(Central).

BY AIR MAIL

13-C, Ferozshah Road,
New Delhi, the 18th February, 1946.

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I have posted yesterday a copy of my report to Bapujee on the attitude that our Party has taken up in the Assembly in regard to the Govt.'s invitation for our co-operation in their Food Delegation. I hope you approve of our action.

I learn that Mr.Asaf Ali has already talked to you twice on the trunk telephone about Bretton Woods Monetary Proposals. We have had full discussions in our Party and its executive, on this matter. Mr.Manu Subedar is strongly of the opinion that we should not join it. Mr.Nsogi advocates our membership. A compromise was suggested whereby we will not be obstructing our immediate participation in the fund and Bank, but will be preventing the Government from undertaking any immediate financial responsibilities, and will be keeping up the Sub-Committee appointed by the Assembly to watch the further developments during the next few months; and we will also be demanding the Govt. that it shall consult the Assembly before it finally undertakes any financial responsibilities.

The idea behind this suggestion for a compromise is this, that to start negotiations immediately for the repayment of sterling securities by Great Britain, which the present irresponsible Govt. in India may not be so beneficial to India. Secondly since U.S.A. is supposed to be keen on our trade and, therefore, is interested in getting India and other Empire countries freed from the Empire Dollar Pool, it may not be to our advantage to alienate her feelings. Thirdly we do not know as yet definitely whether our Membership of the fund and the bank will be of any considerable advantage or disadvantage to us and if we can get into it without undertaking any financial responsibility and see more about its activities, we may be in a better position to make up our mind about it a little later on. Fourthly, we are hoping that the National Government to come within the next few months may be in a better position to understand the full implications of the fund and the bank and to advise us to take the best possible action.

Yesterday we discussed this compromised formula, but we could not come to any final decision, because we wanted to await your advice on the matter. We advised our members of the committee to ask for more time before they signed on the compromised formula, so that we may be able to have the benefit of your advice also, if possible, on the trunk phone through Mr.Asaf Ali. We hope to receive it either today or by tomorrow noon.

Any how the final discussion in the Assembly will come up on the 23rd instant. Therefore, I request you to consider this matter, if need be, with the help of any suitable friends, who may be available to you, and then to give the benefit of your advice through Mr.Asaf Ali or Mr.Sarat Babu, who is back today.

Yours sincerely,

(N.G. Ranga)

We Support Kisan Congress + Not Kisan Sabha
We accept N.C. leadership and Not Socialist

Prof. Ranga has issued the following statement to the Press:-

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Copy of my statement published in the Hindu dt. 16/2/46

"I am surprised at the suggestion of Acharya Narendra Dev to organise Kisans under the name of Kisan Sabha, a name that has been made an anathema to all patriotic Kisans by the unpatriotic activities of Communists on the Kisan Sabha part. It is just to avoid confusion between the orteanisations that have been demoralized by Communists and those that patriotic people must have, that the Students have come to reorganise themselves into the Students Congress, the youths into the youths Congress and the Kisans into the Kisan Congress. Indeed, as long ago as November 1942, those of us who decided to join the August Revolution and stand loyal to the August heroes and to have nothing to do with the Communist controlled Kisan Sabha formed the All India Kisan Congress."

"I cannot agree with the idea of admitting Kisans of all political leanings into the Kisan organisation. For, if once again India has to go into a direct struggle against Imperialism, we cannot run the risk of all Patriot-Kisan workers going into jails and other avenues of struggle, while the anti-national and unpatriotic Kisans continue to exploit the Kisan organisation for their anti-revolutionary activities, as had happened in 1942-43. It we are anxious to develop the revolutionary capacity of our Kisans and help them to grow into a powerful revolutionary force, then we must concentrate on the organisation of only these Kisans who pledge their support, by becoming members of the National Congress, for our national revolution. Therefore, it is most unfortunate that Narendra Devjee should again wish to repeat our past mistakes.

"I take it that Acharyajee and others who are cooperating with him are as anxious as we are, in the light of

our 1940--45 unhappy experiences that the Kisan Organisation shall not entertain any politics which is contrary to or opposed to the politics of the National Congress. I hope they also agree with us in our new determination formed out of our war-time experiences, to accept the National Congress as the best and the only reliable leader of our toiling masses in playing their revolutionary role against British Imperialism. If we are genuine in that determination, then we must see that no organisational steps are taken which may lead our Kisans into anti-Congress activities at any juncture. That is why, I am anxious that the All India Kisan Organisation shall leave full freedom to the Provincial Kisan Organisations to cooperate wholeheartedly with the Provincial Congress Committees and no steps are taken to lead a Kisan organisations into opposition to Provincial Congress Committees. Hence our provisional decision to make the All India Kisan Congress ~~xxxx

Prof. N.G. Ranga,
M.L.A.(Central)

13-C, Ferozshah Road,
New Delhi, the 16th February, 1946.

My dear Bapujee,

Subject:- Our Party's attitude on Food Famine.

I learn that certain interested Government Circles are carrying on meticulous propaganda against our party for our refusal to associate ourselves with the Government's delegation to the U.N.R.R.A., Combined Food Board.

Briefly the facts are as follows:-

We showed our extreme anxiety to cooperate with everyone, including the Government in helping our people to wade through Food Famine. It was in response to our four notices of adjournment motions that Government started the Food Debate. To their motion, only ours were all the amendments passed.

Through our amendments and speeches, we made it clear that if only the British Government really wanted to solve our food problem, it could have built an adequate food-grain reserve from imports; but it did not.

As things are, this Government of India is only a smoke-screen for the British Government to ~~blind~~ hide the latters primary responsibility for India's food disaster and as such, it has no real authority or prestige with the U.N.O. or the U.N.R.R.A. So what is the good of our Congress associating itself with this subordinate Government and thus helping further it/to succeed in misleading the outside world as to the real responsibility of British Government for this food muddle.

We were quite prepared to take up the whole responsibility of approaching the Combined Food Board, in case we have the full power in Government to do all that is necessary to mobilise

.....mobilise

mobilise our internal resources and also to speak with full authority in the name of India and her Government. Instead, when we were asked to go as a part of delegation, while the Government continues to have its own last and principal say, we felt that as usual, we would be reduced to record our views or protests as mere 'dissents' whenever we would be unable to carry this Government with us.

On the other hand, we anticipated your latest statement and had in mind your 1942 advice to Orissa Congressmen. When we suggested ways and means for (i) increasing the total food production in the country through (a) assuring our peasants remunerative and equitable prices (b) developing the Grow More Food Campaign (ii) minimising the corruption now prevailing in the Food Administration and (iii) fighting the prevalent Zhulum and arbitrariness of the Food Procurement administration (iv) preventing the spread of the deficit zones for food and the conversion of self sufficient zones into deficit zones through the present anti-rural and anti-peasant attitude of the Government authorities. (v) for insuring us from the growing menace of food famine caused by the indiscriminate and arbitrary requisitions of foodgrains from peasants and rural areas without a second thought for their own needs, and solutions on top of all these precautions suggested by us to conserve and improve our existing food resources and to make them serve more of our people for a longer period than is the case under Government's -'s dispensation, Your latest and timely statement has come to guide us in the Assembly and allow people in the Country as to how to conserve and distribute existing foodgrains more equitably and economically so that we may be able to avoid any avoidable disastrous starvation.

But what do we find to be the truth about this Government?

(i) The hoarders, profiteers and merchants are not .....being

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being checked.

(ii) uneconomical prices are being imposed upon peasants, robbing them of all incentive to put in their best efforts to produce more and more.

(iii) Manures, agricultural implements, are too scarce, cost too much, are available only in blackmarkets, and even many of the local agricultural officers are too corrupt.

(iv) arbitrary procurement procedure is being resorted to; deficit areas are being extended and more and more rural people are forced into the artificially created famine zones.

(v) No serious effort is being made by Govt. to minimise the great difference between the prices paid for the producers and obtained from consumers of foodgrains.

(vi) Their Grow More Food Campaigns are not effective.

(vii) Rationing is not introduced in most of the rural areas, with the result that grave underfeeding and much misery are being inflicted upon or experienced by the rural masses without being noticed by either Govt. or the Press.

(viii) No economy is being effected in the food consumption of the upper classes,

(ix) while in England, both production and consumption are being subsidized by the State, no such effort is being made in India. Communal feeding Centres, offering meals at specially reduced prices for the poor are not yet organised.

(x) On the false plea that people of rural areas can supplement their "rations" by other garden produce, only one half or every one fourth the ration (that is usually allowed for a townsman is being granted, with the consequent underfeeding and suffering of these few rural areas which are fortunate enough to be provided with the so called "Informal Rationing".

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Under these circumstances, I am glad you have made the only possible and statesmanlike suggestion; that is, that a National Govt. ought to be formed immediately if for no other reason, atleast to solve this terrible food crisis.

Yours sincerely,

M Manga

Mr. Asaf Ali's speech on Food on 5.2.46

Mr. M. Asaf Ali (Delhi: General): Mr. President, as a matter of fact, it was not my intention to intervene in this debate because that is not my subject. But as the Honourable Food Member has made an appeal to this House, I thought I might just as well get up and tell him what we feel about this particular appeal. I need not remind Honourable Members of this House that the primary responsibility for providing food to the entire population of the country is that of the Government, whether it be this Government or any other Government. In this particular instance, I find that it is not this Government that is responsible for administering the food question in this country but it is another Government sitting somewhere, 6000 miles away. It is their duty to see that this country gets its food. Therefore, it is no use asking me to associate myself with the Government or ask the House to associate itself with you or ask the people in the country to get necessary food. It is the duty of England to get the necessary food India. When war broke out, the British Government said that it was their responsibility to defend India. Well, Sir, in defending India, they have reduced this country to the state in which we find it today. Now, I ask them to find the necessary food for this country. Thirtyfive lakhs of people died in Bengal and many more are likely to die according to your records. Now that is your responsibility and not mine. Who create these conditions, ~~xxxx xxxx~~ In so far as the question of influencing is concerned, it is quite obvious that the combined Food Board will listen more to His Majesty's Government than to you. If you go there, you will cut no ice. Because they will say, "now, we know somebody else and that somebody else is not saying the same thing as you are saying". But they will say they have done their duty. But if they do not succeed they must clear out of this country, and if we take courage, we shall see that we get what we want. You ask us further that in this state of emergency we must co-operate with you. But what are we asked to do, may I ask? Are we to dig there and find food out of nothing. If you have not imported enough food, if you are not prepared to get food from outside, in what manner can we help you, I ask. As for the history of the mergency that has been created, we have to look backwards. I do not wish to waste the time of the House. I should just like to remind this House of one particular incident. Lord Linlithgow was brought here an agricultural expert. He was in this country for two years touring all over India, and produced a fat report. He then came out to this country as the Viceroy and in what condition has he left this country after 7½ years of rule. If any other persons had left the country in such a bad plight, he would have been impeached publicly in any other country. But what I want to know is this. What has the British Government done in that respect? After having studied the conditions of the country, after having put forward certain proposals that did not suit our conditions, after the gentleman staying here for over 7½ years, what did he do beyond producing a bull, every now and then presenting a bull. One third of the entire cultivable land of this country according to the Agricultural Commission report lay fallow. I ask my Honourable friend Sir Pheroze Kharegat how much of this has been brought under plough during his time. What have you done to produce more food. Today you are talking of scarcity. Scarcity, there is bound to be when you

Scarcity, there is bound to be when you do not utilise fully the fallow land which has never been brought under cultivation. It is no use - again I do not wish to waste the time of the House - it is no use my castigating those who are not here. It is no use my castigating you who are here as their successors. You should never have taken charge of these things, you should never have been there. Ask them to do the dirty work themselves. Even now, your duty is to resign and ask the British Government to produce food which is so urgently needed in this country.

The Honourable Sir Edward Benthall: The Honourable Member is not addressing the Chair.

Mr. M. Asaf Ali: I am addressing them. Let them do it. Let the whole Treasury Bench resign I need not say anything further except this. So far as the question of delegation is concerned, I have told the House that this is the attitude of my Party. We are not going to associate ourselves with them. Let them carry their own burden. But if they wish to do something in this country, let us know what their proposals are. They have put forward no proposals for co-operation of any kind whatsoever.

What is needed is, in my opinion, an urgent and immediate conference of representatives of consumers and producers. It is not a case of merely asking for representatives of this Government or that Govt. Why did they not send for the ex-Premiers of various provinces to a conference? Why did they not ask them to come together and tell them as to the needs of the Provinces and how ro get on. It is the representatives of the people whether they are in the legislatures or outside, who can advise them properly. They come and talk to us about delegations; they want to take people for a jaunt all over the world, and then do what? They will come back and say, "The popular representatives were with us, we had their prestige, but even then we could get nothing. Even though we have not been able to get what the country wanted, we did all that we could". So they get the credit and we get the blame. No, Sir, we are not prepared to associate ourselves with any such effort, and this is more than enough for the present. I think we had better proceed to the voting now because there is not much time left.

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Sarat Chandra Bose, New Delhi. 18-2-46.

EXPRESS

SARATCHANDRA BOSE

CARE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

NEW DELHI.

IN CASE ASSURANCE NOT GIVEN BY HIS MAJESTYS GOVERNMENT ADVISE STRONGLY INDIAS WITHDRAWAL STOP HAVE ALSO WIRED GADGIL

ACCORDINGLY

Congress House,
Bombay, 18-2-46.

VALLABHBHAI

N.V. GADGIL - NEW DELHI - 18-2-46.

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Congress House,
Bombay.

EXPRESS

N V GADGIL

17 FEROZSHAH ROAD

NEW DELHI

YOUR LETTERS 15 AND 16 JUST RECEIVED IN CASE SUGGESTED ASSURANCE NOT GIVEN STRONGLY ADVISE WITHDRAWAL

VALLABHBHAI

N.W. Sec. 6 289

17 Feroz Shah Road
New Delhi

Your letters 15 and 16
just now received.
In case suggested
assurance not
given strongly
advise ~~[illegible]~~
but Thorough.

Vallabhbhai

C.-S.

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INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT

Received here at ____ Hrs. ____ M.

BOMBAY G.P.O. 18 FEB 46

X RL NEW DELHI 18 53 SARDAR VALLABHABAHI C / O

CONGRESS HOUSE GIRGAON BOMBAY = 04748

= I SENT DRAFT PROPOSAL BY AIR MAIL SUNDAY REQUESTING YOUR VIEWS STOP SHANTILALS MESSAGE OVER PHONE TODAY NOT CLEAR STOP IN OUR PARTY MEETING DRAFT APPROVED STOP PLEASE WIRE YOUR VIEWS BY TOMORROW EVENING STOP TODAYS SPECIAL COMMITTEE MEETING ADJOURNED TILL WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON =

: GADGIL =

The numbers of clerks at the beginning of this telegram, the time when it was handed in and the number on the face of the telegram are to be quoted in any enquiry respecting this telegram.

This form must accompany any enquiry respecting this telegram.

M.G.P. 24b.—953 25-9-45—80,000 Bks.

N. V. GADGIL
M. L. A. [Central.]

Poona 2
Date 291

17 Ferozshah Road
New Delhi.
15th Feb. 1946.

My dear Vallabhai,

I am putting the following few lines for your consideration and awaiting your directions in connection with the same. On 29th January the Legislative Assembly passed a resolution condemning the Government for signifying adherence to the International Monetary Fund and to the International Bank for Re-construction and Development by an Ordinance The resolution stated that a Committee of nine persons should be appointed to go into the whole question and make recommendations to the House as to what action would be in the highest interest of this country; fur-ther, the resolution provided that the Government of India should make no commit-ments till this Adhoc Committee submitted report to the House. This Committee consis-ted of nine persons, four Congress, two Muslim League, one European Group and two officials.

The Congress is represented by Mr. Manu Subhedar, Mr. N.V.Gadgil, Mr. Ayyangar and Mr.Neogy, The Muslim League by Dr. Zia Uddin Ahmad and Mr. Haroon, Mr. Tyson for European Group and the Finance Member and Dr.Madan representing the Government. At the first meeting, we the Congress Party represented that the settlement of Sterling Balances was the main issue for us and unless there was any satisfactory settlement it was useless to continue the membership of the Fund and we would recommend withdrawl from the same. In course of discussion we suggested that an assurance from His Majesty's Government should come forth in an unqualified manner that they would honour the debt and there would be no scaling down except with India's consent and further immediate negotiations should start. On that occasion the Finance Member and in fact the entire Committee agreed that this was a resonable proposal and at the suggestion of the Finance Member the Committee was adjourned for 10 days. When the Committee regathered the Finance

Member informed us that His Majesty's Government was unwilling to give any such assurance because of the fact that the Angle American Agreement was still not ratified by the American Congress. As regards start--ing of negotiations it was not possible to do it immediately. He then requested us to agree to the appointment of Governor who is to be nominated by India as her representative on the Executive of the Fund. He has proposed Sir Chintaman Deshmukh. This matter has got to be decided before next Monday and the discussion of Committee's report is fixed for 23rd of this month. Now the question is what attitude should the Congress Party take? India is already in the Fund. We must move for her withdrawal if we so desire and we must make a recommendation to that effect in our report. In today's meeting all of us four again pressed the Finance Member to secure the assurance, which he failed to secure from His Majesty's Government, but he is not agreeable. After a good deal of discussion he has put forth the following proposals (1) whatever may have been said in the

Anglo-American Agreement about scaling down of debts Article 10 C) India is not bound by it and India's claim to her Sterling credit is not affected by the same. (2) The Committee takes notice of the strong feelings about the settling the question of Sterling Balances and request His Majesty's Government to start negotiations as early as possible. (3) that the Government of India may proceed to appoint a Governor but if there is any fresh commitment to be made with respect to the Fund, this Committee should be immediately consulted. This committee should continue

Under the provisions of the Final Act a member can withdraw from the Fund by simply giving notice in writing. If at any time India thinks that the question of her Sterling credit not being satisfactorily solved, is good ground to withdraw from the Fund, she can do so atonce.

Now, in our Party over this question ~~was first discussed~~ there is difference of opinion. Among the four of us who are on the Committee, Mr. Manu Subhedar is keen on withdrawal because His Majesty's Government has failed to give satisfactory assurance and he wants

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to use this occasion as a lever for getting the ques-
-tion of Sterling Balances settled. Mr. Neogy and Mr.
Ayyangar think that we can withdraw on any moment if
we find that the Fund can be of no help to us in secur-
-ing the settlement of the question of Sterling Balances.
I am inclined to wait for some time and bring pressure
for the settlement of the question of Sterling Balances
and if in reasonable time it is not done, then give notice
of withdrawal and to be out of it. The draft containing
Government proposals will be received by us by to-morrow
evening. I shall certainly send one copy to you, but
in order to acquaint you with the position I have
written this. Our Committee will meet on Monday and
we will have to give our final decision before Tuesday
evening. You will be in possession of the draft embody-
-ing the Government proposals by Monday morning. If
you can communicate your views to me by wire or by
letter or by Phone after 10 P.M. on Monday, or otherwise,
so that your views and also your directions will be
put before the Party. If you so desire you may speak to
Mr. Subhedar or Mr. Asaf Ali on Phone. My phone No is

40272 and Mr. Asaf Ali's is 40238 and that of Mr. Manu Subhedar is 40248.

Yours Sincerely,

M.A. Gadil

Sec. Congress Party

N. V. GADGIL
M. L. A. [Central.]

Tel. No 40272

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Poona 2

Date

17 Phenoy Rd New Delhi
16-2-46

Bombay 42956

Sridayi

Please find herewith draft report submitted by the Cot. This must be examined by the Committee on Monday 19/2/46. Kindly inform me as regards in Yesterday's letter

Yours
N. V. Gadgil

Draft report circulated-

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LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Report of the committee on th e Bretton woods Agreement.

The motion adopted by the House at its meeting held on the 29th January 1946 in substitution of the motion moved by the Hon'ble the Finance Mamberon the previous day asking for ratification of the action of Government im adhering to the agreements as an original member/ proposed inter alia "that in order to determine what steps should now be taken a Committee of this House consisting of nine members to be elected to go into this question and report at an early date to this House and pending consideration by this Assembly of such report no further action be taken by this Government in respect of this Fund or Bank". We ,the undersigned, members of the committee to which the above matter was referred, have considered the subject and have the honour to submit below our interim report containing our recommendations.

(1)We strongly endorse the statement made in the course of the recent debate by the Hon'ble the Finance Member that India is not bound in any way by the terms of the Anglo-American Loan Agreement of December 1945.

(2)In our view the final decision/it would be to India's advantage to remain a member of the Bretton Woods institutions will be determined to a very considerable extent by the outcome of the negotiations which His Majesty's Government are committed to undertake with the Government of India on the subject of liquidation of sterling credits.If these negotiations are unduly delayed,it may be necessary for India to withdraw before these negotiations take place because it may happen that India will be called upon under the agreement to undertake commitments which she may feel unable to shoulder in the absense of satisfactory solution of the sterling credits.

(3)We accordingly recommend that this Committee should ~~continue~~remain in being so as to keep in touch with any developments in these matters and the committee may be summoned at the request of any member.

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(4) We further recommend that the part of the motion debarring further action by Government in respect of the Fund or the Bank be amended so as to authorise Government to appoint a Governor an alternate and Executive Directors and alternates when this is necessary, but no further financial commitments should be undertaken by Government With regard to the Fund or the Bank before the matter has been further considered by the committee. The committee should be summoned again to have a report from the Governor on his return from the first meetings of the Boards of Governors of The Fund and the Bank.

D

KODAK HOUSE,
HORNBY ROAD, FORT,
BOMBAY,.....19

TELEPHONE: 26372
TELEGRAMS: CROWNALUCO

Telephone
40248

27, Canning Lane, New Delhi,
17th February 1946.

My dear Sardarsaheb,

When I sent the wire and wrote to you on Friday, I had a serious provocation. The day before, we (Gadgil, Anantasayanam and myself) had met at my house and reached the conclusion that we should come out of Bretton Woods ~~conference~~ Fund and Bank, because we do not want to risk more money, even if the risk was not immediate and also because His Majesty's Government had refused, in response to a request from committee of the Assembly, to give an assurance which will wipe out the bad effects of the speech of Sir John Anderson and Churchill, and because a request to them to make clear their intentions about sterling balances was definitely turned down. We should not miss this chance of exposing to the whole world the bad intentions of England towards us and our refusal to go under the aegis of the United Kingdom to international bodies.

I was asked to draft the report on this basis and I worked hard on the report, which I had more or less ready. The next day, when there was a meeting of the Bretton Woods Committee, after some preliminary discussion, Gadgil took the line that we shall send our representative to the Bretton Woods, notwithstanding the refusal of H. M. G. to say anything at all on the topic of sterling balances running into 1,700 (seventeen hundred) crores of rupees (seventeen years' total nett income of the Government of India)!! From the position that we would have a separate report, this almost involved the acceptance by us of the official report.

After we came out, I asked Mr.Gadgil why he had thought it proper to spring this surprise on me, and his explanation was that 'We must take some account of opinion outside the House' and he further said that he had a talk with Mr. Asaf Ali.

Mr. Asaf Ali called me up yesterday and, instead of sympathising with me for the position which had arisen, accused me of not having informed him of what was going on! The stage for informing him or the Leader, Mr.Sarat Bose, who is returning to New Delhi on Monday from Calcutta, had not yet reached. Mr.Asaf Ali brought up the issue that, if India is going to the world to ask for food, how can India keep out of international institutions ?

I would request you to see which 'India' is going out for international food. The Congress has officially refused to associate itself with the delegation going out at the hands of Mr.Asaf Ali himself and would have always refused to be dragged into international affairs at the hands of this Government and with representatives of their choice.

The staying out of Bretton Woods for the next nine months, during which the sterling issue may be settled, is most important strategically from the point of view of finance. It will not do India any harm and it cannot possibly be misunderstood by America. I am in close touch with American banking circles.

If financial issues of this magnitude (which arise only once in a generation) are going to be settled in this slipshod way by laymen, who think they are very diplomatic and who appear to be

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overwhelmed with the burden which they are carrying, I have very little hope for the future of our country. If the usual machinery of official pressure, cajoling, buying out, or otherwise driving non-officials into a certain position desired by Government, is ~~xxx~~ to succeed even on an issue like this, it is most unfortunate for India.

To me individually, it was an indication that I was doing no good in this place and that I would much rather retire into the quietitude of private life and devote myself to topics, which are of much greater interest to me than the activities of the Assembly.

The fact that I have brought these topics to your notice, is itself being made a cause for complaint about me. In my opinion nothing more important in the financial field has occured in the last thirty years, and even the ratio fight was for smaller stakes than what we are about to lose now if we do not look out.

When I found a Muslim member, Dr. Zia-ud-din behaving as if he had sold out to Government in the Committee, I took an opportunity of approaching, through a mutual League member friend, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan. The latter assured me that on this issue there was nothing sectional and the League would go with us. He has asked me to prepare a note on the subject, which Jinnah and himself will consider. I offered to place myself at their disposal for cross-examination on the points raised. If

they are satisfied, they will go with us.

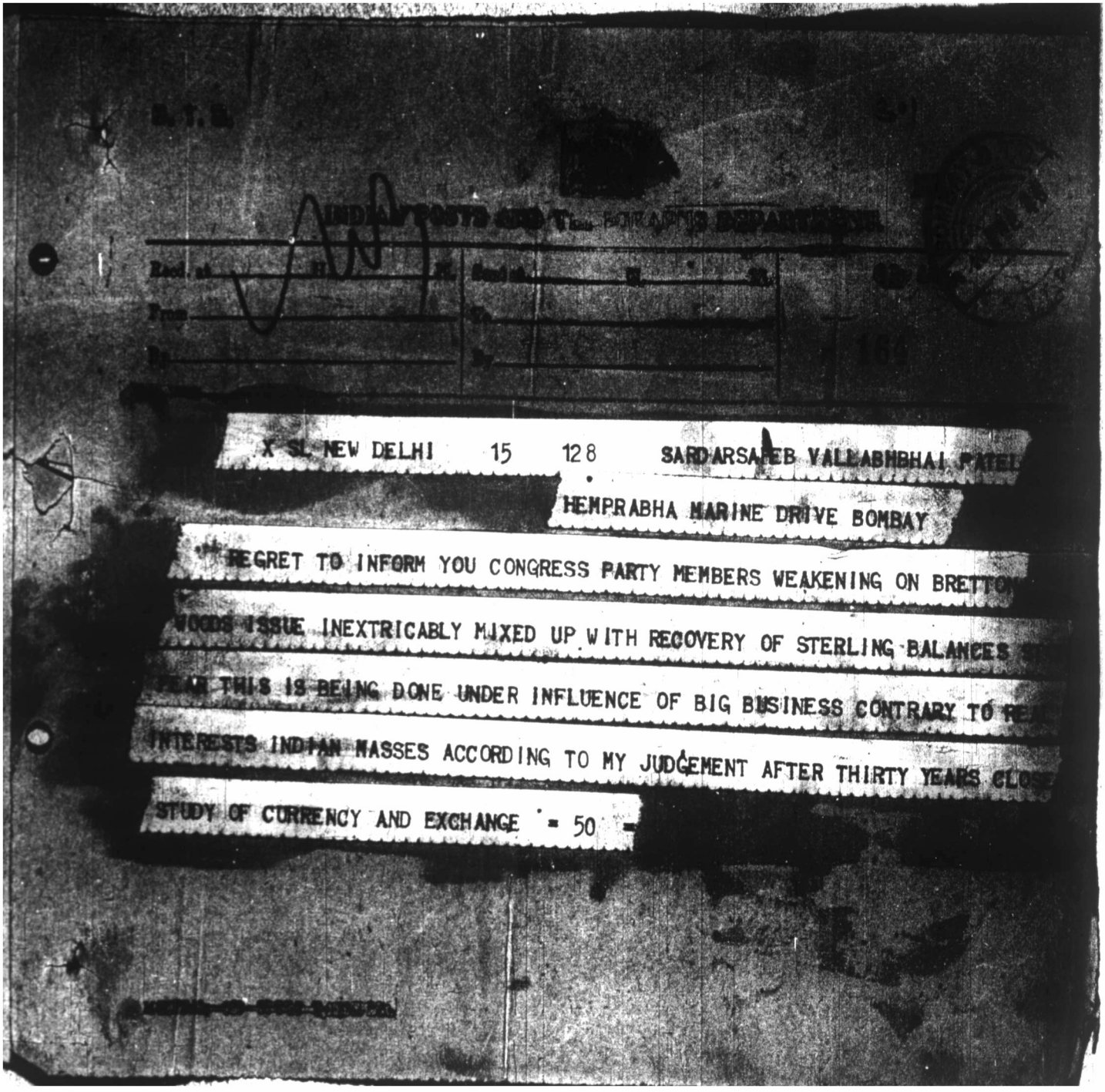
I would request you to give to this question the importance, which it deserves and which some of my colleagues do not appear to realise.

I have fought for financial justice to India for the last thirty years and I have guided the country's fight on this topic. I have never exaggerated the issues and I have not been swept off my feet by any situation. We shall all await with anxiety your instructions.

Yours respectfully,

Mana Subedar

Sardarsaheb Vallabhbhai J. Patel,
"Hem Prabha", Marine Drive,
Bombay.



X SL NEW DELHI 15 128 SARDARSAHEB VALLABHBHAI PATEL

HEMPRABHA MARINE DRIVE BOMBAY

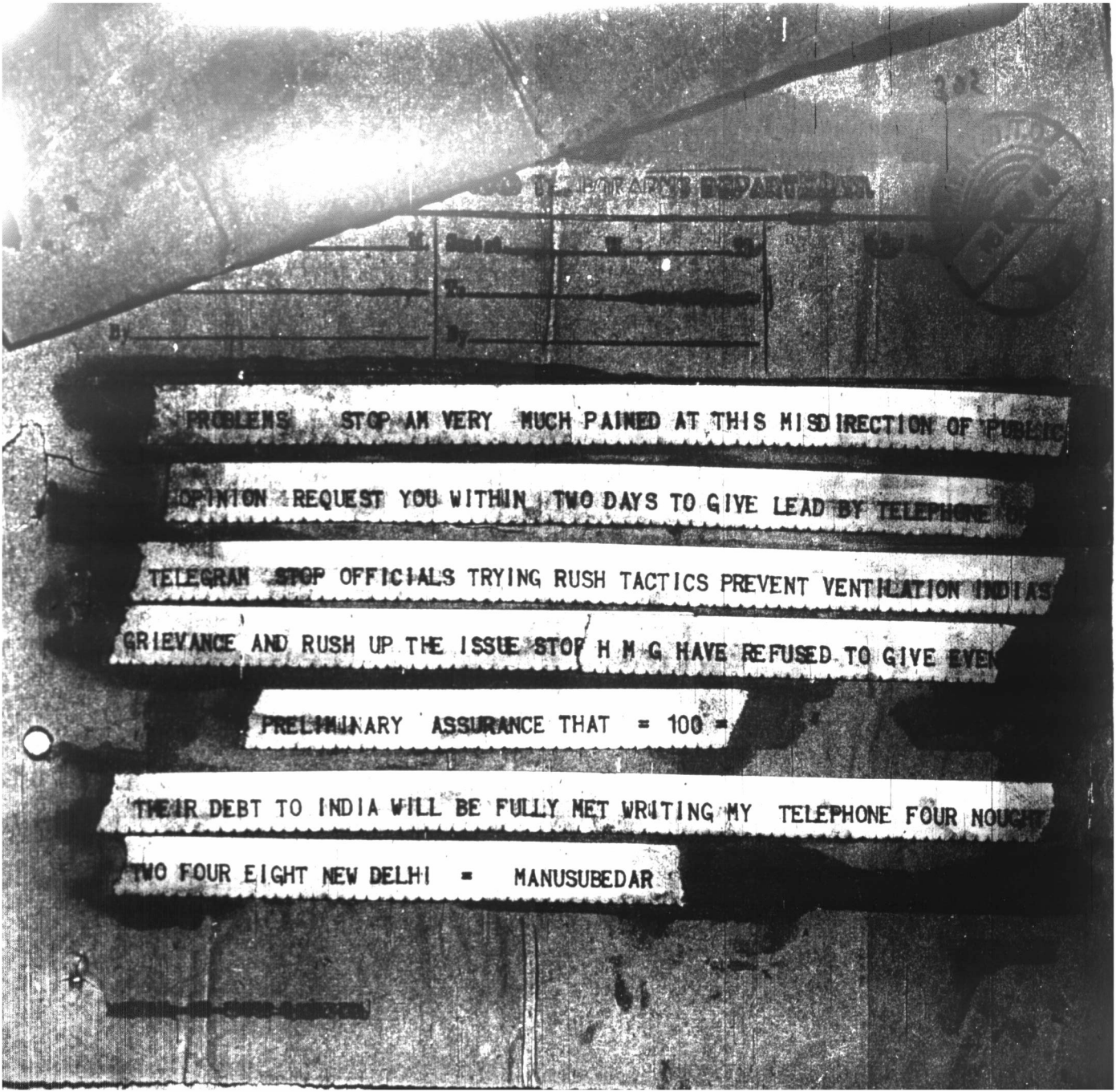
REGRET TO INFORM YOU CONGRESS PARTY MEMBERS WEAKENING ON BRETTON

WOODS ISSUE INEXTRICABLY MIXED UP WITH RECOVERY OF STERLING BALANCES

FEAR THIS IS BEING DONE UNDER INFLUENCE OF BIG BUSINESS CONTRARY TO

INTERESTS INDIAN MASSES ACCORDING TO MY JUDGEMENT AFTER THIRTY YEARS CLOSE

STUDY OF CURRENCY AND EXCHANGE = 50 =



PROBLEMS STOP AM VERY MUCH PAINED AT THIS MISDIRECTION OF PUBLIC

OPINION REQUEST YOU WITHIN TWO DAYS TO GIVE LEAD BY TELEPHONE

TELEGRAM STOP OFFICIALS TRYING RUSH TACTICS PREVENT VENTILATION INDIAS

GRIEVANCE AND RUSH UP THE ISSUE STOP H M G HAVE REFUSED TO GIVE EVE

PRELIMINARY ASSURANCE THAT = 100 =

THEIR DEBT TO INDIA WILL BE FULLY MET WRITING MY TELEPHONE FOUR NOUGHT

TWO FOUR EIGHT NEW DELHI = MANUSUBEDAR

TELEPHONE: 26372
TELEGRAMS: CROWNALUCO

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KODAK HOUSE,
HORNBY ROAD, FORT,
BOMBAY 19

૨૭ ફનીંગ લેન
મુંબઈ ૧૪-૨-૪૬

માનનીય સરદાર સાહેબ

આપને મેં S.O.S. નો
તાર મોકલ્યો છે તથા ફોરેન ખુફીયા
વિભાગના અધિકારીઓ ના પરિચયમાં લીધો
હતો મને તેમણે આપણા પ્રમુખના કાર્યક્રમ
વારંવાર પુનરાવર્તન કરવા કહ્યું. પણ
મને તે વખતે ઘણી મદદ ના થઈ પડી હતી

હવે કમીશનો રીપોર્ટ કરવા વખતે ગાડગીલ
બ્રાહ્મણ મને નીચોડી મારી નાખે છે મને
ગાળ તથા રુપી ઉપરાંત બીજું કશું પણ આપે
ઉપાર મારફતે મને ગાડગીલ ઉપર તેમ
બનવું ઉપાય દેખતું. તેથી તેમણે બહુમાન
કર્યો છે મને રીંગણીયા ને કુલ મળી ત્રણ ચાર
દિવસ માટે વાત કરવા બોલાવ્યો છે
આવીને મને જાનની બોધ મારફત કે બોલાવું.
મારું વિચારો આપણે બહુ જ ઊંડા વિચાર
પછી દોરવણી આપજો છો મને મને દિલ્હી આવવાની
ગેરસલાહ ઉપર બગાવત ઉપાય જેવાની

KODAK HOUSE,
HORNBY ROAD, FORT,
BOMBAY
TELEGRAMS: CHROMALICO
TELEPHONE 26272

આપની ઇચ્છા મુજબ આ વિષય પર હું
કંઈ લખી શકું તેમ નથી. મારી પાસે
કોઈ વિષય નથી. મારા મનમાં
કોઈ વિચાર નથી. મારા મનમાં

KODAK HOUSE, 303 | A
HORNBY ROAD, FORT,
BOMBAY 19
TELEPHONE: 26372
TELEGRAMS: CROWNALUCO

મૂકે મારવેલ્લીના મારવાના બીજ મોકલું છું.
મને ફોટોગ્રાની માહિતી મોકલો
અને પૈસાની જરૂર. દેશની સ્વાસ્થ્ય
ની સમસ્યા વિશે ના લાકડું એ ખૂબ
ઘણો પણ મારી ના ઠેકાણે બેસે ત્યારે પણ
લાગે છે માટે આ સૌંદર્યના પુરી કોશિશ
કરજો ને - બીજાની મૂકવેલ્લીના કોઈ
બીજી પણ જાતું નવું લાકડું છે કે ઉપયોગી
થઈ મારું કરી શકે પણ માત્ર
આ વિશેનું થોડું સૂચન કરો તમારું તો
આ ક્ષેત્રમાં ખૂબ રસ ધરાવે છે

C ભાષાના મનોવિજ્ઞાનના થોડા અનુભવો દુનિયાના
બીજા દેશોના આ વિષયના પ્રયોગો નું બારીક
નાવ છે મને દુનિયાના બીજા પણ પ્રકાશ
ને ખ્યાલ આવ્યા કરે તો મને
બોધ્યો નથી પણ બધાની વાતો બેસ હોશીમાં
પારકો વાગ્યા જેવી થોડી તે મને આ સ્વાસ્થ્ય વિશે
કંઈક ઠોસ કરીએ તો ઘણું બધા સ્વાસ્થ્ય માટે

Sterling debts represent the value of goods and services compulsorily taken from India, many of which Indians themselves required. They were taken on the basis of controlled price and often monopoly price. Otherwise the debts would have three times as much. The total debt now amounts to between Rs. 1,700 to 1,800 (seventeen hundred to eighteen hundred) crores. This represents seventeen to eighteen years total nett revenue of India at the Centre.

Lord Keynes at Bretton Woods said that these were honourable debts, which would be honourably met. Lord Wavell before the Associated Chambers in 1944 said that these debts would be honoured. But the last official word is that of Sir John Anderson, when Chancellor of the Exchequer, that these were not "commercial debts", implying that the obligation to meet them was not serious. Mr.Churchill, in a debate on the 13th of December 1945, said with reference both to India and Egypt, that they had been protected against German and Japanese aggression and there should be some consideration for such protection. Ever since 1942 he had asked the Cabinet to make reservation on this point.

The omission by the then Chancellor of the Exchequer to get up in the House of Commons and to say that this was not His Majesty's Government's view, is deplorable.

The whole of the British Press has more than once tried to say that these debts involved profiteering by India, that India got protection, that England cannot pay, and that these debts should not be paid.

Behind India's back, England negotiated an Anglo-

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American agreement on the 6th of December 1945, of which there are two clauses, 6(3) and 10(c), which are mandatory on Britain scale down India's debts and which promise a waiver of interest to U. K. from America only if they can show that they have defaulted both in capital and in interest to India.

The apprehension caused by all this to the Indian mind prevents India from judging issues involving a further financial liability to the extent of Rs. 260 (two hundred and sixty) crores, when India is asked to sign on the dotted line for the Bretton Woods Fund and the Bank, this is the liability incurred. It is true that the risk to this money will not be immediate, but other ventures have been known to fail, and should this venture too fail (as I confidently expect it to fail in the next five years), India would lose this large money, which she can save by withdrawing from the Fund.

If, however, His Majesty's Government was willing to give an immediate assurance that the sterling debts would be met in full, and that certain clauses of the Anglo-American agreement will not be applied to India, there is no difficulty in an interim position, by which India's representative would attend at the first shareholders' meeting in March in New York.

The Finance Member sent a cable to H. M. G. asking for such an assurance and the reply is in the negative: that H. M. G. could make no kind of settlement, nor can give any kind of assurance.

Equally, His Majesty's Government have said that they are not ready to negotiate now and they were unable to indicate any particular time when they could negotiate.

Under these circumstances, in order to let the whole

world know that India has been badly treated with regard to a debt, which is involuntary, and that the debtor is not doing the right thing, it is desirable to come out of the fund.

The Fund will not function for the next six months, during which preliminary arrangements for its functioning will be carried out. If the pace of negotiations about the sterling could be forced by the strength of public opinion in India, the matter may be settled before the Fund or the Bank begins to function.

After there is a fair and satisfactory settlement on the sterling issue, India can afford to take such risk as is involved in joining the Fund and the Bank, and it is in no spirit of isolationism that India should come out now.

When India's status at home is properly settled, her international status will also be proper, and when the load of anxiety in connection with the sterling is removed, she could enter the new venture with a lighter mind.

It may be noted that His Majesty's Government cannot plead delicate negotiations with America for not having taken certain obvious measures to reduce or to keep down the sterling debt. Dollars and dollar securities of Indians were requisitioned during the war. There is no reason why assets, at least those which belong to Britishers non-resident in India, should not be mobilised by the British Government with a view to reducing the outstanding sterling balance.

My efforts to get the Finance Member to modify section 41 of the Reserve Bank of India Act, by which the Reserve Bank is bound to give rupees for sterling, have failed. This means that even today commodities required for India are being purchased by

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the British Ministry of Food and other agents of the British Government in this country, and the payment is made in the form of sterling, whose return to India is problematic.

In other words, the problem is not old, but the sore is continuing. The debtor is showing no inclination. He is not even renewing the pro note. He is not paying even where his ability to pay is obvious. He is not willing to send his representatives to the door of the creditor to discuss the ways and means. He has not submitted any proposal nearly twelve months after the end of the war.

In order to get a proper perspective, please note that

(1) the recent Anglo-American loan to England is less than £ 1,000 (one thousand) million, and

(2) the sterling debt/accumulated is more than to India £ 1,250 (twelve hundred and fifty) million.

If India does not take this opportunity of marking her protest with world-wide publicity by gaining out of Bretton Woods, she will never get a chance. Old and stale debts are not paid and India's own experience in the last war was that only one-tenth was paid for claims of £ 35 (thirty-five) million.

The attitude of Government, i.e. Sir Jeremy Raisman, and of non-officials like Mr.Shroff and Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas upto July 1944, was that India would have no use either for the Fund or for the Bank unless and until the issue of sterling balances was satisfactorily settled. Since that date when they returned and deplored their efforts to get this settled through the Fund and the Bank, Government's attitude has changed. But the attitude of the Indian people should be that we withdraw from the Fund and the Bank

until we see a more clear light and until we get a fair solution of the sterling debt at the hands of U.K.

મુંબઈ
તા. ૨૮ ૧૨ ૪૫

૩૦૧

પ્રિય ભાઈ મનુભાઈ

તમારો તાર મળ્યો ત્યારે હું ઝુ
કામમાં હતો છતાં મેં તરત બધા બાજુનું રાજીનામું
કાયદા ખાતાને આપી દેવા કહ્યું કે
પહોંચી ગયા પછી જ તમારો મારો મળ્યો. એટલે
દિવસે સવારમાં ભાઈ ગાડગિલનો મારો મળ્યો કે
તમારા જેવા નામ કર્યો કે સમાન પક્ષ નામ
કર્યા કે તારમાં સાચું મારો મારો ખરિમોય
રહ્યો છે. તે માંગણી જાણી જોઈને ન મળે
તો કોંગ્રેસવાળા એમાંથી બાકાત કરું કહેવાય કે
ખિલે મારા મનમાં મુદ્દા એકદમ ચોક્કસ થયા. દિવસ પછી
તરત રાજીનામું કરાવ્યું હતું તે પહેલા ગાડગિલના
માણસોને મળી ગયા હતા

આ પછી પાછો ગઈ રાત્રે ફરમૂ ખરિમો
રાજીનામું આપ્યું. જેમાં પણ મેં મારો ખરિમ-
પ્રાય ભારપૂર્વક રજૂ કરાવ્યો છે. હું તમારા
રાજ્યે પૂરેપૂરો સહમત છું કે કાળા તમારે
મજબૂત રહેવું જોઈએ —

તમારે રાજીનામું આપવાનું ન હોય
તમારો મત બાકરકોને ગાંધી ઉભા રાખી
શકિયા હતે ધારવર હોય જોઈએ. પ્રમાણિક

આનંદ હોય તો સમજવા પ્રયત્ન કરવો.
કરવો એ આપણી ફરજ છે. કોને સમાધાન
મળ્યું ન હોય તો આપણે વિચાર
કરવો રહ્યો
ફરીથી તો ખુબ કામમાં હું આનંદ
નથી હું

વંદેમાતરમ્

310

Bombay

15. 2/40

My dear Sarat

I had wired to you yesterday about Shri Gadgil's reference to me and I had a long telephonic talk with Sjt Asaf ali at night also If the assurance that was asked for is not forth coming I have no doubt India should withdraw from the B. W Conference There should not be no hesitation in this matter

Yours

Vallabhbhai

Satya Narayan Sinha
M.L.A.(Central)

31 Camp Lane 311
New Delhi
12/2

1546

Respected Sardarji

Your kind letter My letter must have crossed it in the way I am always in touch with the Hon the President I am very glad to inform you that he is acquitting himself with ability & dignity your choice has been fully justified & vindicated The Muslim league is not behaving properly with him, but we are doing all that is possible to counteract their manoeuvres The several Rulings which he has given in the House have clearly proved that he knows his job very well This is admitted at all hands

Sarat Bose has not come back yet He is expected in a day or two I am keeping him also in good humour

I am a little overworked but through the grace of God & by your blessings

I hope to carry on the work successfully.
I shall write to you weekly letter just to keep you informed of the activities of this place.
My respects to Smt. Rani Bai.

With kindest regds. & respects.
I am yours obdtly
Satya raj Anand

P.S
As a result of the new orientation brought about by the President the number of Adjournment motion & Short notice questions on the popular subjects has increased tremendously. Not even one tenth of this ones have been allowed in the time of Sir Abdur Rahim
Ack.